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SINO-INDIAN STUDIES

Vol. I.



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NOTICE

The Sino-Indian Studies closes its first year of existence with the publication of this issue. Copies of the first issue of the Second Volume will be sent to the subscribers per V.P.P. unless we are instructed beforehand to act otherwise. We request those who do not wish to continue as subscribers to write to us a card to that effect before 30th Oct. 1945.

Manager.

The Beginnings of Buddhism in China

Although during the first few centuries of Buddhist missionary activities in China the lead was generally given by the Buddhist scholars of Iran and of countries in Central Asia, Indian Buddhist scholars did not fail to make their presence felt in the various centres of Buddhism in China and create amongst the Chinese an interest in Buddhism and Indian culture in general which would not have been otherwise possible. The first two Indian scholars who came to China in 68 A.D. during the reign of Ming ti, Kāśyapa Mātāṅga and Dharmarakṣa, translated five Buddhist texts into Chinese. These were resumés of the legends of the birth and childhood of Buddha, a resumé of his predication, a short treatise on the main principles of Buddhism, a *sūtra* on the purity of monastic life and a *sūtra* on the principles of ascetic life for those who wanted to follow the way of spiritual perfection. Four of these works were judicious selections. The “*Sūtra of 42 Sections*” which has been preserved up till now is clearly a catechism for the use of missionaries intending to preach the Buddhist religion in foreign countries. The original text did not belong to the Buddhist Canon. It had been compiled in order to give a general idea of the religion and its practices. The first Buddhist monastery in China *Po ma sse*, the “White Horse Monastery” was built at Lo-yang for these two Indian missionaries.

For about seventy years after this first contact was made we do not hear of any other missionary activity in China. The reason for this is not far to seek. The communications between the Western countries and China were still very uncertain on account of the political

condition in Eastern Turkestan. In order to command the routes of Central Asia better, General Pan-ch'ao continued military operations for twenty years from 74 to 102 A.D. These operations were renewed in 124 A.D. by his son Pan-yong. As a result of these operations communication between China and the West became more secure and regular. The Hiung-nus, the eternal enemies of China, who were responsible for this insecurity in communication between China and the West, were brought under such complete submission as not to raise their heads again.

From this time onwards we hear of regular arrival of Buddhist missionaries in the capital of China. The first among them who came from Persia was Ngan She-kao, an Arsacidan prince. He came to Lo-yang in 144 A.D. and was the first to revive the traditions of the "White Horse Monastery." He was well versed in the Buddhist Canon and had a great personality. It is not known whether he had gone to India to study Buddhist texts before coming to China or had been directly inspired by Indian scholars. Buddhism seems to have been already known to the Persian world in this period. The Indo-Scythian empire was the connecting link between India and Persia.

One hundred and seventynine translations of Buddhist texts are ascribed to Ngan She-kao. His translations were intended to meet the great need of the period. Buddhism was not yet well known amongst the Chinese people. Thus instead of presenting to them faithful translations of Buddhist texts which were apt to be unintelligible to a foreign people he made a selection of small texts from the Canon for translation into Chinese. These were meant to give a general idea of the Buddhist religion in its various aspects, pious legends, philosophy, discourse of Buddha etc. Thus a large number of the texts translated by him are extracts of more extensive Sūtras belonging to the four principal Āgamas of the Sūtrapitaka. He was a good translator and a clever organiser. Apart from the translations which he had made of Buddhist texts into Chinese he founded a school

of translators at Lo-yang which came to be described as "unrivalled" by the Chinese. The members of this school continued the work of translation up to the end of the Han dynasty (220 A.D.).

We find amongst the collaborators of Ngan She-kao an Indo-Scythian monk named Lokakṣema. He came to Lo-yang shortly after Ngan She-kao had settled there and took part in the work of translation so well begun by the latter. Amongst other members of the school of Ngan She-kao there was a compatriot of his, named Ngan Hiuan who came to Lo-yang as a merchant but gave up his business and became a Buddhist monk. There were also two Sogdian monks, Kiu and Mong Siang, and three Indians, Buddhadeva (?), Mahābala (?) and Dharmasatya (?). The number of translations made in this period was considerable. The religion had already begun to attract the Chinese. For the first time we find a Chinese Buddhist scholar named Yen Fo-t'iao amongst the translators of the "White Horse Monastery." He had received his ordination towards the middle of the 2nd century, after the arrival of Ngan She-kao and Lokakṣema, studied Buddhism under them and translated two Buddhist texts into Chinese. One of these works is a Prātimokṣa or the rules of ordination for the monks.

On the fall of the Han dynasty the country was divided amongst three powers. The Wei rulers had their capital at Lo-yang, the Wu dynasty was established in the south and the legitimate successors of the Hans were driven to Sse-ch'uan. Under the Wei rulers (220-265 A.D.) the church of Lo-yang continued its work of propagation and translation. In spite of the indifference of the Wei rulers towards this foreign religion, the work of translation continued systematically and the Chinese people grew more interested in Buddhism. At the request of the Chinese monks the Indian scholars who had come to China in this period prepared a number of translations which have come down to us. Dharmakāla, Saṅghavarman and Dharmasatya were all Indian monks. They translated a number of Vinaya works towards the middle of the 3rd century A.D. Their works show that the Chinese monks were

then feeling a great need for Vinaya works in order to know exactly the Buddhist monastic discipline. Besides the three Indian scholars, whom we have just mentioned, there were at Lo-yang in this period a Kuchean monk named Po-Yen and a Parthian monk Ngan Fa-hien both of whom translated a number of Buddhist texts into Chinese.

In the South, Buddhism seems to have been introduced and developed in an independent manner. Tche K'ien the first translator of the South at first belonged to the Lo-yang school. But missionary activities had been going on in the South before his arrival. We now know that the land-route through Burma and Yun-nan was already in use before the 1st century A.D. and the sea-route between China and India was probably opened up in the 2nd century A.D. South China in this period included Kiao-che (Tonkin) which had come into contact with India in the 2nd century A.D.

An authentic source of information leads us to believe that already in 65 A.D. a Prince of the Imperial family, who had settled in the valley of the Blue River, was surrounded by Buddhist monks. At the time when the school of Ngan She-kao was flourishing at Lo-yang the propagation of Buddhism was being actively pursued in Kiang-su and had reached Shan-t'ong. The Chinese biographer of Ngan She-kao tells us that Ngan She-kao had himself gone to Kiang-su which indirectly proves that Buddhism had been already introduced in that region. The famous Chinese scholar Mou-tseu who had written in the defence of Buddhism was born between 165 and 170 A.D. He retired to Tonkin in 189 A.D. and it was there that he was converted to Buddhism and composed his famous treatise. Shortly after, in the beginning of the 3rd century Seng-hui, the son of a Sogdian merchant who had come to Tonkin, got himself initiated to Buddhism there and afterwards proceeded to Nanking. Thus it is amply clear that Buddhism was well known in South China long before the accession of the Wu dynasty (222 A.D.) and the arrival of Tche K'ien at Nanking.

Tche K'ien was at Lo-yang but the political troubles in the North

compelled him to leave the country and go to Nanking where the Wu rulers had established their capital. His merits were recognised by the Wus and he was appointed preceptor of the Princes. As he was a layman and had no authority to give ordination the only work which he could do for the propagation of Buddhism was the work of translation. He translated into Chinese a large number of Buddhist texts which he had brought with him.

The Sogdian, Seng-hui who came to Nanking in 241 A.D. contributed more to the propagation of Buddhism. He was the first monk to come to the Wu capital and had powers to give ordination to the new converts. He founded the first monastery at Nanking called *Kien-ch'u sse*. He translated only Buddhist avadānas into Chinese. This was significant. He wanted to carry the religion to the man in the street and for this the stories of the great acts of the Master were more useful than the philosophical disquisitions. He had thus succeeded in converting the people but had not founded a school of Buddhist erudites like Ngan She-kao.

Buddhism does not seem to have made any progress in Sse-ch'uan where the Hans had taken refuge. Lo-yang continued to be a great centre of Buddhist activities in the North. Nanking also rose to be another important centre in the 3rd century A.D.

The Tsin dynasty which conquered the Wu in the South in 285 A.D. succeeded for a while in unifying the three kingdoms. During the short reign of this dynasty (280-317 A.D.) Buddhism became a very important factor in Chinese life. The Emperor Wu-ti (265-290 A.D.) showed a great interest in the Buddhist religion and a large number of monasteries were built in different parts of the country by his order. The Emperor Min-ti (313-316 A.D.) also had two monasteries built: these were the *T'ong hui sse* and the *Po-ma-sse* at Ch'ang-ngan. The Chinese historians tell us that during the reigns of these two monarchs about 180 religious establishments were built in the two cities, Nanking and Ch'ang-ngan. Thirteen translators worked there

during their reigns and translated 73 volumes of Buddhist texts into Chinese. The total number of Buddhist monks in China was 3700 in this period.

This account does not seem to be exaggerated. The Northern capital, Ch'ang-ngan, was an important centre of Buddhist activities as Lo-yang under the Han and the Wei before it was abandoned on account of continual revolts of the barbarians settled in the Province of Shan-si. It was at the time of this unification of the three kingdoms under the Tsin that a famous Buddhist monk named Dharmarakṣa (Fa-hu) came to Ch'ang-ngan from the West. He was of Indo-Scythian parentage, born at Tun-huang, which we know was the meeting place of the two worlds, the Chinese and the Western. Dharmarakṣa was a true type of scholar, issue of the contact between the two great civilisations. He had studied the sacred lore under an Indian teacher, had travelled in various countries in Central Asia and probably also in India, was well versed in Sanskrit and knew besides, 36 different languages. He was a scholar of exceptional ability and had begun translating Buddhist texts while at Tun-huang. Having learnt that Ch'ang-ngan had risen to be a great centre of Buddhist activities he went there with his own collection of Buddhist texts and settled down to dedicate his life to the work of a pious missionary. The large number of texts translated by him shows his vast knowledge of the Buddhist literature. Dharmarakṣa had assembled round him a number of Buddhist scholars from different parts of Asia, Ngan Fa-kin of Parthia, Mokṣala of Khotan, Po Fa-tsin of Kucha, Dharmasīra and his son Shu-lan (Śuklaratna) who were Indians long settled in China, Fa-tsin, the Indo-Scythian and a few others. Almost all the Buddhist countries were represented on his school.

Dharmarakṣa also inspired the Chinese scholars with enthusiasm for the Buddhist faith. Amongst the Chinese Buddhist scholars, Nie Cheng-yuan and his son Nie Tao-chen were able collaborators of Dharmarakṣa in the work of translation. Chu She-hing, a Chinese

Buddhist monk had started a few years earlier in 260 A.D. for Khotan where he went to study at first-hand and make a search for Buddhist texts. He was the first to complete a Catalogue of Buddhist texts in Chinese translation on his return home. A few years later another Chinese scholar, Che Min-tu, an able compiler of Buddhist texts, prepared a second Catalogue of the Canon.

In 310 A.D. the Hun chief, Liu-yuan, the king of the Han, attacked the Empire and soon made himself absolute master of the entire country up to the north of the Blue River. The two ancient capitals Lo-yang and Ch'ang-ngan were occupied in 316 A.D. On the death of Liu-yuan and his successor, the kingdom was divided by his generals into two parts under the common name of Shao. Of one, the capital was Ch'ang-ngan and of the other Siang-kuo (Shun-to fu in Che-li). The establishment of these two foreign dynasties in North China was specially favourable for the propagation of Buddhism.

A Buddhist monk named Buddhadāna (?Fo-tu-teng) who was most probably of Kuchean origin arrived in this period at the court of the Northern Chao in Che-li. He exercised a preponderating influence on the Chao ruler—She-lei. All the texts describe Buddhadāna as a great magician. He reached Lo-yang in 310 A.D. After the occupation of this town by the Huns Buddhadāna was introduced to She-lei who greatly respected the monk and began to follow his counsel in all matters. The successor of the Chao ruler, She-hu continued to have the same respect for Buddhadāna. She-hu promulgated in 335 A.D. an edict which recommended Buddhism as the best religion to his people.

Buddhadāna lived at Ye (Chang-to in Ho-nan) where She-hu had transferred his capital. During his stay at Ye, Buddhadāna had succeeded in making Ye an important centre of Buddhism with the help of the Indian Fo-tiao and two other monks She-yu and Tao-k'ai who had come from Tun-huang. A Chinese monk named Tao-ngan who was later on to play a very important part in the history of Chinese Bud-

dhism, came to Ye to study Buddhist literature with them. Political troubles broke out in 349 A.D. which led to the destruction of the Chao kingdom. Tao-ngan was compelled to leave Ye with his own students. Although the history of Buddhist community founded at Ye is missing we find references to a catalogue of Buddhist texts compiled most probably at Ye under the title of *Chao-lu*. This catalogue is also lost.

After the accession of Fu-kien of the Yao Ts'in dynasty in 350 A.D. Buddhist activities received a new impetus. Fu-kien invited the famous Buddhist scholar Tao-ngan to Ch'ang-ngan and encouraged the work of translation and propagation. Tao-ngan inaugurated a new epoch in the history of Chinese Buddhism. He was a Buddhist scholar of the first order and a rigorous critic. He was the first to critically examine all the ancient Chinese translations of Buddhist texts. It has been said about him: "Before his time many Buddhist texts had been translated. But the ancient translators often committed mistakes which made the deeper sense of the texts obscure. While explaining a text the ancient scholars paid attention to the general sense of the texts. But Tao-ngan examined the Sūtras closely and brought out their inner meaning." He composed a series of commentaries and compiled the first comprehensive Catalogue of the translations made up to his days. Tao-ngan invited the foreign monks Gautama Saṅghadeva, Dharmānandī and Saṅghabhūti. These scholars translated a large number of texts between 381 and 385 A.D.

The disciples of Tao-ngan were found in this period in almost all parts of China. One of the most illustrious amongst them, Hui-yuan, founded the famous monastery of Lu-shan. He carried on a vigorous propaganda in favour of Buddhism in China. Another, Fa-ho went to Sse-chuan and was probably the first to preach Buddhism in that region. Through Tao-ngan's services, the Buddhist community at Ch'ang-ngan soon became flourishing. Tao-ngan had heard about Kumārajīva and invited him to come to China. Tao-ngan died in

385 A.D. and it was only 16 years after his death in 401 A.D. that Kumārajīva reached Ch'ang-ngan.

Fu-kien was assassinated in 385 A.D. and the Ts'in succeeded him. But Buddhism did not at all suffer on account of this political change. Yao-ch'ang (385-395) and his successor Yao-hing (395-416) remained faithful to the Buddhist religion and their reign constituted one of the most beautiful periods of the history of Buddhism in China. Tao-ngan was dead but his work at Ch'ang-ngan was continued by another Chinese monk, Chu Fo-nien. He was not only an able interpreter of Buddhism but also a clever translator. He was often invited to help translators of foreign nationalities who did not know the Chinese language well. He also translated a number of texts which have been preserved up till now. It was due to his efforts that the Buddhist community of Ch'ang-ngan continued to flourish as before till the arrival of Kumārajīva in 401 A.D.

Kumārajīva was living in China in Leang-chou since 385 A.D. where he had been brought by General Liu-kuang after his conquest of Kucha. Kumārajīva now came to Ch'ang-ngan on an invitation from Yao-hing. It is said that he was born of a Kuchean Princess and an Indian father and was educated in Kashmir. He was a man of rare genius and during 12 years of his stay in China performed the most important work in the cause of Buddhism. He was the first to introduce in a systematic manner the Mahāyāna in China. In order to facilitate this work he translated some of the fundamental texts of Mahāyāna: the *Sūtrālamkāra-Śāstra* of Aśvaghōṣa, *Dśabbhūmi-vibhāṣā-śāstra* of Nāgārjuna, *Śataśāstra* of Āryadeva, *Satyasiddhi-Śāstra* of Harivarman and in order to make these philosophical systems well understood he also translated the biographies of these teachers. Amongst the 98 works which are attributed to him there is also a work of special importance. It is the *Brahmajāla-sūtra*, a Mahāyāna Vinaya code for the use of those who wanted to follow the path of the Bodhisattvas. This text was one of the most popular in China.

Kumārajīva was the first to introduce in China a more profound knowledge of Indian Buddhism. He found out that the texts translated earlier into Chinese were more or less diffused and full of mistakes. His translations were made in good Chinese. His works are sometimes condensed and abridged in regard to the form but their meaning is very explicit. It is admitted by all that he was one of the best translators.

Kumārajīva died in 413 A.D. but his school continued to do great work up to 417 A.D. when fresh political troubles broke out in North China. To Kumārajīva's school belonged a number of Kashmirian monks such as Puṇyatrāta, Buddhayaśas, Dharmayaśas and two Chinese monks Seng-jui and Seng-chao.

After the downfall of Yao-hing in 417 A.D. political powers passed into other hands. But before we take up the history of Buddhism under the small rulers who wrested the political power in the North we should turn our eyes to the South and see what the Buddhist Church of Nanking had been doing all this time.

The Tsin rulers who had been driven to the south of the Blue River in 316 A.D. by the Huns ruled in Nanking quite peacefully till 420 A.D. when they were supplanted by the Song dynasty. The Tsin are regarded as the legitimate rulers of China by the Chinese historians. During the one hundred years of their reign in the South, Buddhism continued to prosper at Nanking. The official history gives us the following details: Yuan ti (317-322) had two famous monasteries built. These were the *Wa kuan sse* and *Long kuan sse* which regularly accommodated one thousand monks. Ming ti (322-325) built the two monasteries: *Ming hing sse* and *Tao ch'ang sse* and assembled there more than one hundred Buddhist scholars. Ch'eng-ti founded the monasteries of *Chong hing sse* and *Lu ye sse* which also accommodated more than a thousand monks. Kien Wen ti (371-372) erected numerous statues for the worship of the Buddhists and founded monasteries for accommodating the monks. Hiao Wu ti (373-396) founded the monas-

teries of *Huang t'ai sse* and *Pen ki sse* and Ngan ti (397-417) the monastery of *Ta she sse*. During 104 years of their rule 17068 Buddhist temples were built throughout the Empire and 263 volumes of sacred texts were translated by 27 translators in the Southern capital. We do not know how far the figures given above are correct but so far as the number of translations is concerned it is almost exact.

A large portion of translations consists of Dhāraṇīs or mystic formulae. Śrīmitra, the Kuchean, and the Indian Tan-wu-lan (Dharmaratna ?) were probably the first to introduce with a certain amount of success the practice of Dhāraṇī amongst the Chinese Buddhists. South China was then Taoist and it was probably necessary to introduce the mystic practice of Dhāraṇī in order to satisfy the curiosity of the Taoists who had formed a mystic bent of mind. But the Buddhists of Nanking produced also other things in this period. Gautama Saṅghadeva who left Ch'ang-ngan and came to Nanking in 397 A.D. translated the whole of *Madhyamāgama* of the Sūtrapīṭaka. He also translated an Abhidharma work, the *Abhidharmahṛdaya-śāstra*. He seems to have helped in the translation of the *Ekottarāgama* which was published under the name of Dharmanandī. Vimalākṣa the teacher of Kumārajīva, came to China after the death of his illustrious disciple and came to Nanking where he translated a portion of the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*. The famous Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien returned to Nanking from India in 414 A.D. and brought with him a number of Sanskrit texts. Some of these texts were translated into Chinese by Buddhabhadra; the most important of these was the *Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya*.

The monastery of Lu-shan, a new Buddhist institution, had risen into importance in the South in this period. It was founded by a disciple of Tao-ngan, Hui-yuan.

In the North-West, Leang-chou, which is the Western part of the province of Kan-su had become a centre of Buddhist activities since the end of the 4th century A.D. We have seen that even in

earlier times Buddhist scholars while coming from the West used to stop at a place called Tun-huang which was also in Leang-chou. Scholars like Ngan She-kao, Dharmarakṣa, and a few others had actually worked at Tun-huang and some of their translations bear the mark of that place. Since the end of the 4th century A.D., the capital of Leang-chou, Wu-wei-hien, became a centre of Buddhist activities. An Indo-Scythian scholar, She-lun, translated there a number of Buddhist texts in 373 A.D. in collaboration with a Kuchean monk Po Yen. The prefect of Leang-chou personally took part in the work of translation.

Liu-kuang, the Governor of Leang-chou was entrusted with a military expedition against Kucha in 385 A.D. He had gained a certain military importance in these campaigns and so on his return to Leang-chou he proclaimed himself an independent king. Leang-chou remained independent till 401 A.D. when it was annexed to the Ts'in kingdom by Yao-hing. But when Leang-chou passed into the hands of the Northern Leang family it reasserted its independence for a time and its capital became a centre of Buddhist activities. It was finally annexed in 433 A.D. by the Northern Wei rulers (Toba).

The Tsiu-k'iu family of the Northern Leang had special leaning towards Buddhism. One of its rulers Mong-sun (401-433) invited an Indian scholar Dharmakṣema to the capital of Leang-chou. Dharmakṣema organised a school with the help of a number of Chinese scholars. He carried on the work of translation for about 25 years and translated amongst other things a very important Mahāyāna text named *Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra*, the complete manuscript of which could be then found only at Khotan. One of the nobles of the Tsiu-k'iu family, King-sheng, was a disciple of Dharmakṣema and a fervent Buddhist. He had himself translated a number of works at Leang-chou and on the fall of his dynasty went to the South where also he continued his work.

The Wei (Toba) kingdom was at first founded in Shan-si in 386 A.D. and its capital was Ta-t'ong. After the downfall of the Ts'in the

Wei occupied almost the whole of North China up to Blue River, annexed Leang-chou and transferred their capital to Lo-yang. The Wei reigned in North China almost uninterruptedly till 550 A.D. The Wei period was one of the greatest epochs in the history of Buddhist art. It was during their reign that the work of excavation of the grottoes of Long-men and Yun-kang were commenced. These are the masterpieces of Buddhist art in China. The official history gives the following information on Buddhism during the Wei reign:

“Wu ti (386-407) founded 15 Caityas and two monasteries called *K'ai t'ai sse* and *Ting kuo sse* and personally copied sacred texts. He also erected a thousand statues in gold and every month entertained 3000 Buddhists in a religious convocation. Cheng ti (453-465) encouraged the study of Buddhism in various ways. During his reign the number of monks and nuns had risen to 30,000. Hien Wen ti (465-476) built the monastery of *Chao yin sse* solely for the use of monks who practised dhyāna. Hiao Wen ti (476-479) built the *Ngan yang sse* and took a personal interest in the Buddhist religion. The number of Buddhist monks and nuns rose up to 40,000 during his reign. Suan Wu ti (499-515) himself explained the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* in his palace and founded four monasteries *P'u sse*, *T'ong sse*, *Ta sse* and *Ting sse* and constantly entertained 1000 monks. Hiao Ming ti (515-528) founded at Ye the *Ta kio sse* and his successor Hiao chuang ti built 5 vihāras and ten thousand statues in stone. Wu ti (532-534) built in Ch'ang-ngan the monastery of *Che k'i sse* in order to accommodate 200 monks. Wen ti (534-551) built the *Pan jo sse* to accommodate the poor and the old and himself recited sacred texts such as *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* and *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*.

“Thus during 170 years of the Wei rule 47 large monasteries were built in Lo-yang, Ch'ang-ngan and Ye by Imperial orders. Grottoes were excavated in the northern hills near Ta-t'ong-fu over a distance of 30 li. The smaller princes built in this period 839 temples and the private families more than 30,000 such temples. The number of monks

and nuns in China were in this period more than two million. 49 volumes of texts were translated into Chinese in the Wei period."

Although the Wei were great builders their interest in scholarly work was not in any way remarkable. The work of translation was not of the same importance. A foreign monk T'an-yao translated at Ta-t'ong-fu a number of Avadānas. One of his collaborators in the task was Ki-kia-ye (Kekaya ?). Towards the end of the Wei rule, Bodhiruci a famous Indian monk came to Lo-yang to continue the work of translation. He also worked at Ye where the Wei capital was transferred for a short while (508-536). He translated in all 36 volumes. During the Wei period the Chinese Buddhist monks felt so much need of coming into contact with India directly that a number of Chinese monks had gone up to India. The most famous amongst them were Fa-hien and Song-yun.

The Northern Ts'i succeeded the Wei in 550 A.D. and reigned till 577 A.D. Buddhist literary activity was not very intensive in this period. We get the name of one Indian scholar, Narendrayaśas who translated a number of texts into Chinese. The rulers of the Ts'i dynasty however were great patrons of Buddhism. The official history tells us: "Hiao Chao ti (560-561) copied with his own hand 12 Buddhist texts and regularly maintained 3000 monks. Ch'eng ti (561-568) erected a Caitya in gold. During 28 years of their reign 43 Buddhist temples were built, imperial collections of Buddhist texts were made and 14 volumes of texts translated." What is more important is that Buddhism was introduced in this period amongst the Turks by the Chinese Buddhists.

During the reign of T'o po Kaghan (572-581), the Chief of the Western Turks, Buddhism was introduced amongst the Turks. The story of the introduction of Buddhism is given as follows: In the Ts'i period a Chinese monk named Hui-lin took courage to go to the country of the Turks (T'u-kiu). He approached the Kaghan and told him that China was prosperous and mighty for having favoured the Buddhist

law. He then taught him the fundamental Buddhist doctrines and the Kaghan soon became a believer in Buddhism. He built a Saṅghārāma and sent an ambassador to the Ts'i Emperor with a request to send him some Buddhist texts specially the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*. The Kaghan took so much to Buddhism that he practised abstinence, observed the Buddhist rules of conduct and made regularly the *pradakṣiṇa* of the stūpas." During the reign of Hou-chū of the Ts'i dynasty (570-575) the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* was translated into Turkish by a Chinese scholar named Lieu She-ts'ing at the request of the Kaghan. During the reign of the Ts'i dynasty, in 575 A.D. a Buddhist mission was sent to the Western countries in search of Sanskrit texts but the members of the mission could not return before the Sui period. The number of texts collected by them was 260.

The Chou dynasty succeeded the Wei in 557 A.D. They do not seem to have been quite well disposed towards Buddhism. Some able Indian scholars like Jñānabhadra, Jinagupta etc. came to China in this period but they were not much encouraged by the Chou rulers in their work.

We have not so far followed the history of the Nanking church since 420 A.D. Four dynasties followed one another during this period in the South. These were the Song (428-479), the Ts'i (479-502) the Leang (502-556), and the Ch'en (557-589). The condition of Buddhism in the South during the reign of these dynasties was very flourishing.

The Song rulers were great patrons of Buddhism. The official history gives the following account of their pro-Buddhistic activities:

"Wu-ti (454-465) used to recite Sanskrit texts and copy them with his own hand. He founded four monasteries—the *Ling sse*, the *Yen sse*, the *Fa sse* and the *Wang sse* in which generally one thousand monks were maintained. Wen ti (424-453) used to practise the Buddhist rules of conduct and founded the monastery of *Ch'an ling sse* in order to accommodate one thousand monks. Ming ti (465-472) erected statues in

gold and founded the monastery of *Hong p'u ch'ong sse*. During their reign 210 volumes of texts were translated into Chinese and in all 1913 Buddhist temples were built throughout the empire. Amongst those who conducted the work of translation there were some famous Indian scholars Dharmamitra, Guṇabhadra, Guṇavarman etc. Under the Ts'i dynasty Buddhism continued to flourish as before. Of the Imperial patronage the following account is given: "Kao ti (479-482) copied the *Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra* with his own hand and was able to recite the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. During 4 months and a half he used to arrange the statues in gold and during the rest of the year he used to entertain regularly 300 monks in the monastery of *Po-p'u sse*. He built two monasteries for the use of the monks: *Che k'i sse* and *Cheng kuang sse*. Wu ti (483-493) founded *Shao huan sse* and *Yu hien sse* and invited 300 Buddhist scholars to lecture on the Tripiṭaka during four successive years. Ming ti (494-498) copied Sūtras with his own hand, erected statues in gold and used to recite the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Saddharmapundarīka Sūtras*. He founded the monastery of *Kui yi sse*. It is said that altogether 2015 Buddhist temples were built in various places of the Empire and 72 volumes were translated into Chinese. The number of Buddhists in this period in the South was 32,000."

Under the Leang dynasty (502-556) Buddhist activities continued with equal success. Indian scholars were coming to South China by the sea route. The most famous amongst them was Paramārtha who was a native of Ujjayinī. He was at first educated in the Brahmanical schools and was afterwards converted to Buddhism. He translated a large number of texts into Chinese and amongst them there were also texts of Brahmanical philosophy in which the Chinese Buddhists were getting interested. About the patronage accorded to Buddhism by the Leang rulers the following account is given by the official history: Wu ti (502-549) founded four monasteries viz. the *Kuang sse*, the *Chou sse*, the *T'ung sse* and the *T'ai sse* and about one thousand monks used to be entertained in those monasteries. By an Imperial decree in 517, Wu

ti prohibited the killing of animals either for sacrifice or for food and recommended vegetarian diet. He lived like a monk. Kien Wen ti (550-551) built two monasteries—the *P'in king sse* and the *Pao ngen sse* and studied the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Yuan ti (552-554) built the *T'ien kin sse* and *T'ien kuan sse*. In all 2846 temples were built in this period throughout the Empire and 248 volumes were translated into Chinese. The number of Buddhists in this period was 82000." During the reign of the short-lived Ch'en dynasty (557-589) the progress of Buddhism was hampered to some extent and the religion does not seem to have received any royal patronage.

The accession of the Sui dynasty (581-589) after the suppression of small kingdoms marks a new era not only in the history of China but also in the history of Chinese Buddhism. China was once more united after a long period of internecine quarrels and foreign inroads and the Chinese Imperial traditions were restored once again. With the foundation of this Empire begins a new era in the history of Buddhism, an era of assimilation. The Chinese, with the revival of their own literary traditions, began to see what use they could make of this foreign religion in building up their national life which had been disturbed so much since the fall of the Hans.¹

¹ For references to the sources see *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, I, pp. vii ff.

A Brāhmī Stone Inscription from Tunhuang

Last summer an estampage of the fragmentary inscription (16/13 of the size of the accompanying photograph) was handed over to me by Mr. Chou Tafu as being sent for inspection from the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tunhuang by Prof. Hsiang Ta (向達), who had made upon it observations to the following effect :

“The original stone is situated in the Minchou temple (岷州廟), five *li* to the south-west of the city of Tunhuang and seems to be the first of its kind in Western Kansu. At the top of it there is a Buddhist relief sculpture, which still retains the style of the Gandhāra school; the figures of the worshippers are seen wearing short breeches. The piece, therefore, should belong to the early period of the North Wei dynasty.¹ Originally a *dhvaja*-pillar, it is now in an extremely dilapidated condition.”

The Indian² part of the inscription was found to consist of a fragment of the same *Pratītyasamutpādasūtra* as was found inscribed on the Nālandā bricks, studied by N. P. Chakravarti and P. C. Bagchi.³

¹ 386-534 A.D.

² The lower part of the fragment, consisting of Chinese characters, needs expert investigation. An interesting suggestion, made by Mr. Kim Kemo, deserves to be noted in the meanwhile. If the Chinese inscription is read in the same order as the Indian text above it i.e. from left to right in five fragments of horizontal lines, it seems to describe, in the first line, an astronomical event by giving the positions of the sun and the moon in the sky as being both in the seventh (division) of the constellation 角 (= *Citrā*). The last two lines appear to read at least four personal names: viz. *Chun-yü Kao*, *Fan She(-yen?)*, *Kuo Lun* and *Ma Hui-ngan*. Thus altogether this may be a dedication, mentioning, among other things, the time when the inscribed *Dhvaja-stambha* was consecrated and the names of the devotees.

³ *Epigraphia Indica*, XXI. Nos. 32, 33 (Jan. 1932), Pp. 193-204. To the sources utilized here it is necessary to add the Tibetan version (see note 7 below), attributed to Nam-mkhaḥ in the appendix to the Derge edition (A

It consists of ten partial lines of text, making up a total of 366 syllables. besides the circular design of a *dharmacakra* in the eleventh line, showing the end of the inscription, along with the preceding sign of a *visarga*, which may have formed a part of the last word: *samāptaḥ*, according to the reading of Brick A of Nālandā (*ibid.*, p. 199, n. 11). The distribution of the syllables from line one to ten is as follows: 36, 35, 40, 44, 42, 39, 39, 35, 28, 28 (=366). On the basis of the total number of syllables in the Nālandā text, therefore, it may be fairly assumed, that the extent of the gaps between each two succeeding lines of the present fragment amounts to nearly three times that of the preserved text. This leads us further to the surmise, that the original full text was probably inscribed in eleven lines, running round the four sides of a votive column, only one side of which has been preserved here in a mutilated form.⁴

Comparative Analytical Catalogue of the Kanjur Division of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, publ. by the Otani University, Kyoto 1930-32, No. 877). The title of this Tibetan version reads as: *Pratityasamutpādādi(ñca)vibhaṅga-sūtra*, which is easily explained by the fact, that the '*Bhagavān*' expressly teaches here both the *ādi* (= *uddeśa*, according to Vasubandhu) and the *vibhaṅganirdeśa* (see lines 2, 5, 22-23 of the Nālandā text) of the Pratitya-samutpāda doctrine. Tucci's note 1 on p. 612, JRAS., 1930, is misleading, as has already been pointed out by Chakravarti (*ibid.*, p. 196, n. 1). B. C. Law tries, with dubious success, to identify the present Sūtra with *Vibhaṅga*, p. 135 (PTS), mainly on grounds of scholastic development of the doctrine (JRAS., 1937, Pp. 287-292).

4 The comparatively shorter extent of the gaps before lines 2 and 3 may be explained through the possibility, that this missing portion of the Sūtra, containing as it does the fundamental formula (*ādi*), which is made the subject of the subsequent analytical exposition (*vibhaṅga*), may have been inscribed with special care, resulting in a slightly greater spacing of the syllables (compare line 2, giving a part of this formula, with the other lines in the fragment). It is obvious, that, guess-work apart, only actual details about the other dimensions and the general situation of the stone fragment within the whole structure could be a sure guide in determining the way in which the original inscription was made and set up.

The fragment reads literally as follows :

1. ṇuta sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca manasi kuruta bhāṣiṣye pratītyasamutpā-
dasyādih katamaḥ yaduta asminsati
2. vedanāpratyayāḥ tṛṣṇāḥ tṛṣṇapratyayāḥ upādānaḥ upādānapra-
tyayāḥ bhavaḥ bhavapratyayāḥ jātiḥ jāti
3. tyasamutpādasyādih⁵ vibhaṅgaṁ katamaḥ avidyapratyayāḥ saṁs-
kāraḥ iti avidyā katamaḥ yata pūrvānta ajñānamapa
4. leṣu sāvadyānavadyeṣu sevītavayāsevitavyeṣu hīnapraṇīteṣu kṛṣṇa-
śuklapratibhāgapratītyasamutpanneṣu dharmeṣvajñā
5. tyayaṁ vijñānaṁ vijñānaṁ kata(mat?)ṣaḍvijñānakāyā cakṣu-
vijñāna śrotraghrāṇajihvākāyamanovijñānaṁ vijñānaṁ pratyayā nā
6. yatanam ṣaḍyatanam kata(mat?)ṣaḍādhyātmikānyāyatanāni cakṣu-
radhyātmikamāyatana śrotraghrāṇajihvākāyo
7. sra tṛṣṇā kāmātṛṣṇā rūpatṛṣṇā ārūpyatṛṣṇā tṛṣṇāpratyayā upā-
dānaṁ upādānaṁ katamaḥ catvāryupādānāni
8. tiḥ abhinirvṛttiḥ prādurbhāva skandhapratilābhah dhātupratilā-
bhah āyatanapratilābhah jīvitidri(ya?)
9. hāniḥ indriyāṇaṁ paripākaḥ⁶ pa-rihbadaḥ saṁskārāṇaṁ purāṇi-
bhāvo jarjaribhāvo
10. kā ca jarā tadubhayaṁ jarāmaraṇamityucyate pratītyasamutpā
11. (ḥ?)

It is unnecessary here to collate this text exhaustively with the corresponding one, found on the Nālandā bricks. It can be easily seen, that the language is not any definite form of Prākṛta, but corrupt Saṁskṛta, e.g. from the phrase: *tṛṣṇapratyayāḥ upādānaḥ*, appearing in line 2 as incorrect Saṁskṛta, which happens to be quoted below in line 7 in a different incorrect form as: *tṛṣṇāpratyayā upādānaṁ*, a discrepancy, that could not have existed in the original text, and that leads us to conclude, that the writing of the original Saṁskṛta forms

5 For (*prati*) *tya*, which agrees with Nālandā, Chakravartī inadvertently reads *pratyaya* (*ibid.*, p. 198, line 5 of the text).

6 Between *pa* and *ri* there is something, that looks like an erasure.

was incorrect. Excluding such cases of incorrect writing, therefore, the following may be considered as real variants:⁷

Line 4: -prañiṭṣu kṛṣṇa- for -prañitakṛṣṇa- (Nāl. line 8)

-pratibhāga- for -sapatibhāga- (Nāl. *ibid.*)

Line 5: iti *missing after* -tyayaṃ vijñānaṃ (Nāl. l. 10)

Line 6: iti „ „ -yatanam (at the beginning) (Nāl. l. 13)

Line 7: ārūpyatṛṣṇā for arūpyatṛṣṇā ca (Nāl. l. 15)

Line 8: -lābhaḥ for -lambhaḥ (in all three places) (Nāl. ll. 17-18)

Line 10: aikadhyam abhisamkṣīpya *missing after* tadubhayaṃ (Nāl. l. 22)

On palaeographical grounds the present inscription is to be regarded as distinctly older than the one on the Nālandā bricks. The top curves, indicating middle *i* and *ī* are differentiated, but the former has not yet descended into a vertical line to the left of the consonant, as in Nālandā. An almost total absence of punctuation, as well as of Saṃdhi (including *parasavarṇa* of the *anusvāra*) also points to a period,

7 The corresponding part of the Tibetan version is found to agree with the Nālandā text. For the Tibetan version I have used my own copy of the text (taken about fifteen years ago) from the red edition of the Kanjur, belonging to the Royal Library at Berlin (which I hope has still survived the war), catalogued by H. Beckh (Verz. d. tib. Hss d. Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin, Abt. I: Kanjur, Berlin 1914, Vol. Tsha (Mdo); fol. 164b- 167a). The publication of the Tibetan version is announced by N. Ayyaswami Sastri, whose own superfluous reconstruction of the text in Saṃskṛta appears in the Brahmaṇḍīyā (Adyar, Feb. 1944), Vol. VIII, pt. 1. With regard to the Chinese versions of the present text, made by Hiuan-tsang, it has to be observed, that the punctuation of the passage, corresponding to ll. 17, 18 of the Nālandā text (i.e. *from tasmīṃstasmin satvanikāye ... upto ... jīvitendriyasya prādurbhāvah*), which is partly preserved in line 8 of the present fragment, and which agrees perfectly well with the original Skt. text, needs appropriate correction in the Shanghai, Taisho and probably also other editions of the Chinese Canon, along with Bagchi's translation of it (*ibid.*, p. 203).

earlier than that of the Nālandā inscription. On the other hand, *ma* (which often shows, along with *pa*, an ornamental curve, turned outside towards the left), the tripartite *ya* with a similar open hook on the left after the upright fashion of the Central Asian Mss.,⁸ and *na* belong to the post-Kuṣāṇa period. All this, combined with the Western forms of *la*, *sa* and *ha*, mark the present script as belonging to the cursive Western Gupta style, found e.g. in Toramāṇa's Kurā inscription (Ep. Ind., I, Plate on p. 240), indicating a date, around the second half of the fifth century A.D. The close cultural contact, established by the Hūṇa invaders, between Central Asia and North India during this period may thus be said to have left a symbolic trace in the form of the present unique fragment.

V. V. GOKHALE

8 See Hörnle's discussion in *Antiquities from Central Asia* (JASB., Extra Number I to Vol. LXX, pt. I. (1901), Pp. 11-15 with Table II); Compare *ya* in e.g. the Amauna Plate of the Mahārāja Nandana (Ep. Ind., X, No. 12), dated 551-2 A.D. and also earlier in the Jaina inscription from Mathura of the Kuṣāṇa period (Ep. Ind., I. p. 395, No. XXVIII, c with Plate).

Vajragarbhatantrarājasūtra

A NEW WORK OF KING INDRABODHI

INTRODUCTION

The present text, the *Tsui shang ta sheng kin kang ta kiao pao wang king* (最上大乘金剛大教寶王經) was translated from Sanskrit by Fa-t'ien (法天) of the Song dynasty. Fa-t'ien was an Indian monk of Nālandā. His original name was probably Dharmadeva. He went to China in 973 and worked at Pien-leang under the patronage of the Song Emperors till his death in 1001. The large number of Sanskrit texts translated by him in this period belongs to the mystic school of Buddhism which is generally called Vajrayāna. The exact date of the present translation is not known but it might have been one of the earlier works of Fa-t'ien. In fact the official catalogue of the Buddhist texts, compiled in the Mongol period, the *Che yuan fa pao kien t'ong tsong lu* (至元法寶勘同總錄) would have us believe that it is one of those translations which were executed by Fa-t'ien between 973 and 981 (See Nanjio. *Catalogue*, no. 869). Nanjio restores the original title of the text as *Vajragarbharatnarāja-sūtra* which has also been provisionally accepted by the learned editors of the Catalogue of the Taisho edition (*Hobogirin*, 1128). A more literal translation of the Chinese title would however be: *Anuttara-mahāyānavajra-mahātantra-rāja-sūtra*.

The special interest of the work lies in the fact that it is said to have been originally compiled by king Indrabodhi. The Mongol catalogue, the *Che yuan fa pao kien t'ong tsong lu* clearly tells us that the text was promulgated by the T'ien-tseu (天子) Yin-na-lo-pu-ti (印捺囉部帝) i.e. Devaputra Indrabodhi and that the origin of the mystic tradition goes back to that king (Bagchi—*Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, II, p. 588). The name of the king sometimes occurs as Indra-

bhūti in the Indian sources (B. Bhattacharya, *Two Vajrayāna Works*, one of the works is the *Jñānasiddhi* by Indrabhūti) but both the forms of the name, Indrabodhi and Indrabhūti are indiscriminately used in the Tibetan texts. He is mentioned as Rājan Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna, Oḍḍiyānanarendra Indrabhūti, Rājan Indrabodhi and so forth (Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain*, II. pp. 36, 39, 56, 71, 96 etc.). The name is consistently given as Indrabodhi by the Tibetan historian Sumpa Khanpo (*Pag sam jon zang*, pp. 65, 107, 126). The Chinese transcription pu ti. again, may be restored only as -bodhi. Indrabodhi was probably the more popular form of the name.

The name of Indrabodhi or Indrabhūti stands very high in the tradition of the school of mystic Buddhism in India. According to all traditions, both Sanskrit and Tibetan, he was the king of Uḍḍiyāna, Oḍḍiyāna or Urgyan which was the ancient name of the Swat valley in North-West India and not Orissa, as some scholars have supposed. I have fully discussed the problem of its identification in a review which is now incorporated in my *Studies in the Tantras* (pp. 37 ff.). This is further confirmed by the present text. It is said here that the capital of king Indrabodhi was Mang-ngo-lo pu-lang (曼 〇 羅 補 〇) i.e. Maṅgalapuram. We know from other sources that Maṅgalapura, modern Manglaur, was the capital of Uḍḍiyāna (the Swat valley). Hiuan-tsang mentions the place as Mong-kie-li in his *Records*. Besides, M. Foucher has drawn attention to a miniature painting of Vajrapāṇi occurring in an illuminated Nepalese Ms. of the 8th-9th century. This Vajrapāṇi is described there as "the Vajrapāṇi of Maṅgakoṣṭha in Oḍḍiyāna." Maṅgakoṣṭha was only another name of Maṅgalapura (for a fuller discussion of the texts cf. *Studies in the Tantras*, p. 38). It is interesting to note that Vajrapāṇi was associated with the city of Maṅgalapura or Maṅgakoṣṭha. In the present text also, the mystic tradition handed down by Indrabodhi goes back to Vajrapāṇi who at the special request of Buddha had gone to Uḍḍiyāna and initiated the king to the mysticism of Vajrayāna. There is therefore no wonder

that a cult of Vajrapāṇi was in vogue in Uḍḍiyāna in the 9th century A.D.

It is extremely difficult to fix the age when king Indrabodhi flourished and to determine his exact place in the history of Buddhism. In the present text the king is said to have been contemporaneous with Buddha. But in mystic tradition Buddha with his assemblage of disciples is ever present to those whom he favours and anybody who has attained a certain degree of spiritual perfection can realise it. Therefore no importance can be attached to the present text in this matter. Dr. B. Bhattacharya (*Two Vajrayāna Works*, p. xi) believes that Indrabhūti lived in the beginning of the eighth century. He says: "In the Tangyur Catalogue of P. Cordier Indrabhūti is mentioned as the disciple of Anaṅgavajra. From the other Tibetan sources Indrabhūti appears to be the father of Guru Padmasambhava who went to Tibet in the year 747 A.D. at the instance of his brother-in-law Śāntarakṣita, both of whom were instrumental in founding the great monastery at Samye in Tibet in the year 749 A.D. modelled on the Odantapura style (Waddell. *Lamaism*, p. 28). If we take Indrabhūti as 30 years senior to his son, then his time will fall somewhere in 717 A.D. and if his Guru Anaṅgavajra is taken to be twelve years his senior then the time of Anaṅgavajra will be *cir.* 705 A.D." Of the two works published by Dr. Bhattacharya the first, the *Prajñopāyavinīścaya-siddhi* would be the work of this Anaṅgavajra and the other *Jñana-siddhi* that of his disciple, Indrabhūti.

It is however very difficult to build anything on the Tibetan tradition alone which has often mixed up personalities of the same name. Anaṅgavajra, the author of the *Prajñopāyavinīścaya-siddhi* could not have been the same person as the guru of Indrabhūti. The compiler of the *Subhāṣitasamgraha* has quoted a number of verses from the second chapter of the *Prajñopāyavinīścaya-siddhi* (verses 5 to the end) and has attributed them to a "new" or later Anaṅgavajra-*nūtan-Ānaṅgavajrapādaiḥ* (Bendall— *Subhāṣitasamgraha*, p. 5). The attri-

bute *nūtana*, "new," has evidently been used before the name to distinguish him from an earlier Anaṅgavajra. There is again another important indication in the last but one verse of *Prajñopāyavinīścaya-siddhi* (p. 27, verse 54) which has been ignored by Dr. Bhattacharya. A line of this verse runs as: *gurucaraṇāmbuja-sevā-viṭayitam-amṛtaṃ śubbhākarākhyena*.—Dr. H. P. Shastri while noticing the ms. in his *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection* (A.S.B., I, p. 110) took Śubbhākara to be the name of the guru of Anaṅgavajra. In Tibetan tradition there is mention of one Śubbhākara, viz. Subhākaragupta, a Buddhist sage, contemporary of Abhayākara-gupta when the latter was high priest of the Vajrāsana, Vikramaśilā and Nalendra (S. C. Das. *Pag sam jon zang*, pp. cxxii, 120). Abhayākara-gupta was a contemporary of the Pāla king Rāmapāla and flourished towards the end of the 11th century. The new (*nūtana*) Anaṅgavajra, the author of the *Prajñopāyavinīścaya-siddhi*, therefore, did not flourish before the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century. In fact the work does not seem to have an earlier character.

In the Tibetan collection of the Bstan ḥgyur there is a large number of works attributed to Indrabhūti. But even a superficial examination of the catalogue shows that there were various Indrabhūtis and not one. There is mention of (1) Ācārya Mahā Indrabhūti (Cordier, *Catalogue*, II, p. 55), (2) Rājan Mahā Indrabhūti (*ibid.*, pp. 97, 108, 110, 112), (3) Rājan Indrabhūti, the great king of Oḍyan or Urgyan, Oḍḍiyāna-narendra Indrabhūti, (*ibid.*, pp. 36, 39, 40, 55, 70, 71, 96); (4) Rājan Madhyamendrabhūti or Indrabhūti hbiñ po (*ibid.*, p. 49), (5) Ācārya Indrabhūti (*ibid.*, p. 109). It is possible that 1, 2 and 3 are the names of the same person, king Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna but he was certainly different from nos. 4 and 5. It is difficult to say which of these Indrabhūtis was the author of the *Jñānasiddhi* edited by Dr. B. Bhattacharya, as in the Tibetan translation of the work there is no mention of the author (*A complete catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist canons*, Tohoku University, no. 2219). The great king Indrabhūti of

Uḍḍiyāna was certainly the person who according to the tradition had adopted mystic Buddhism with 500,000 householders (*Pag sam jon zang*, pp. 65, 107, 126).

There is an important *guru-paramparā* (lineage of gurus) in the Tibetan sources (see Cordier, Catalogue, II. p. 211) in which Padmavajra is the first teacher. We have then Anaṅga-vajra, Ācārya Indrabhūti (also mentioned as Rājan in the Tibetan catalogue of the Bstan hgyur collection), Bhagavatī Lakṣmī, Līlavajra, Dārika-pāda, Sahajayogini Cintā and Ḍombī-Heruka. The same lineage also occurs in a Sanskrit text published by Prof. S. Lévi (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, VI, 1930-32): Padmavajra, Anaṅgavajra, Indrabhūti, Lakṣmī-karā, Līlavajra, Dārikapāda, Cintā and Ḍombī-Heruka. It should be noted that in the same text we get another list where there is the name of a different Indrabhūti who belonged to the school of Nāgārjuna: Nāgārjuna, Sarvanātha, Indrabhūti, (Uḍini Vajrayoginī?), Tilopā, Nāropā, Advayavajra etc. Tilopā and his disciple Nāropā were contemporaries of king Mahīpāla of Bengal and lived in the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th centuries A.D. Nāropā (also called Naḍapāda) in his *Sekoddeśatīkā* (edited by Dr. M. E. Carelli, Gaekwad's Oriental Series) quotes from the works of two teachers, Nāgārjuna and Indrabhūti, of the line to which he himself belonged. Indrabhūti is simply mentioned as Indrabhūtipāda and one verse is quoted from his *Jñānasiddhi* (ibid., p. 58 = *Jñānasiddhi* p. 36, verse 47 *apratisthitam yathā kāśam* ...). As he precedes Tilopā in the line only by one generation (if we exclude the name of Uḍini Vajrayogini) this Indrabhūti also lived in the 10th century. It was he who was most probably the author of the *Jñānasiddhi* which would be a work of the 10th century.

Thus Indrabhūti, the author of the *Jñānasiddhi* belonged to the line of Nāgārjuna and was different from Indrabhūti, the king of Uḍḍiyāna, who belonged to the line of Padmavajra. Although the

texts have made him a sort of semi-mythical personage he was in all likelihood a historical person and was responsible for the dissemination of the traditions of the mystic school of Buddhism called Vajrayāna. It is difficult to say anything on the date of king Indrabhūti. He might have been a contemporary of Śāntirakṣita, as the Tibetan tradition says and belonged to the 8th century. It seems that there is an indirect reference to the age of Indrabhūti in the story of his earlier existence (pūrva-nidāna) as given in the Chinese text. It is said that when the law had lasted for one thousand years after the nirvāṇa of Buddha, Vajrapāṇi who initiated Indrabhūti to the mystic cult left Uḍḍiyāna and retired to a neighbouring hill named Mahādhara where he disappeared. According to this tradition king Indrabhūti lived in the 11th century after the nirvāṇa i.e. either in 6th or 7th century A.D. The origin of Vajrayāna may go back to that time but most of the works (including the present one) which include traditions handed down by Indrabhūti seem to be later compilations. The nature of the present work shows that it belongs to an age when the Vajrayāna teachers (Vajrācāryas) were shamelessly exploiting the names and works of the great teachers of the school to their own benefit. Buddhism in North India had not come to that stage before the 9th and the 10th centuries A.D. It is not even impossible that Fa-t'ien had taken with him a recently compiled work with him from Nālandā while he was leaving for China in the last quarter of the 10th century.

The doctrines of the Vajrayāna as explained in the present text generally agree with what we know from other sources. The text commences with an enumeration of the different vehicles (Yāna) of Buddhism. It is said that there are four kinds of laws viz. the Śrāvakayāna (聲聞乘), the Pratyeka-Buddhayāna (緣覺乘), the Vaipulya-Mahāyāna (方廣大乘) and the Anuttara-Vajra Mahāyāna (最上金剛乘). We are further told that the first two of these four vehicles are of advantage only to one's own self and not to others. The two forms of Mahāyāna constitute the higher aspects of the

Buddhist faith and of them again the Vajrayāna is said to be the highest of all forms of Buddhism. It is the law of profound mystery.

The Vajrayāna is explained in the following terms: "If a Bodhisattva cultivates the anuttara-mahā-bodhicitta (菩提心) he is known as the Vajrayāna-sattva. This bodhicitta is of advantage not only to one's own self but also to others. By cultivating it a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva can unfold the upāya (方便) and make all the indriyas (根) their corresponding viṣayas as well as their causes (根境界) attain the anutpāda-dharmakṣānti" (無生法忍證). The anutpāda-dharmakṣānti is the state of the non-origination of things. It is a fundamental doctrine of Mahāyāna in so far as it is a condition precedent to the attainment of Buddhahood. Vasubandhu has explained it in his *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*. He says that the dharmas remain in an incipient stage in the great storehouse of consciousness called ālayavijñāna. This ālayavijñāna is the cause of the origination of the dharmas. Arhatship consists in bringing about its retroversion (vyāvṛtti, parāvṛtti). This is the state of the non-production of dharmas. Sthiramati while commenting on the passage says that Arhatship depends on the acquisition of two kinds of knowledge, the knowledge of the destruction of passions and the knowledge of the non-production of things (kṣaya-jñānānutpāda-jñāna-lābhāt). The same thing is also stated in the *Abhidharmakośa* (VI. 50 a, b) which is a Hīnayāna work. It is said that Arhatship depends on the acquisition of two kinds of knowledge, one which destroys the flow of consciousness and the other which stops their reproduction. In the *Abhidharmakośa* it is further (VI, 67 a, b) said that the illumination (bodhi) consists in the acquisition of the knowledge of destruction and the knowledge of non-production (Lévi—*Matériaux pour l'étude du système Vijñaptimātra*, p. 78). So far as the stages of spiritual progress is concerned it is stated that the anutpādadharma-kṣānti is attained in the eighth stage or bhūmi (cf. Rahder—*Dśabbhūmika-sūtra*, p. 63):
sa sarva-dharmāṇām ādyanutpanatām ca 'yathābbhūtam avatarati

ajātātām ca/alakṣaṇātām ca/ ... anutpattikadharmakṣāntiprāpta ityucyate. It is also in this stage that the vyāvṛtti or parāvṛtti i.e. retroversion of the consciousness that produces the dharmas, takes place (cf. A note on the word Parāvṛtti—*Studies in the Tantras*, p. 87).

But a true follower of the Vajrayāna must not remain contented by attaining this stage for himself. He also works for others so that all beings may acquire the state of non-production of dharmas. So it has been said in the present text: "The nature of the Bodhisattva is characterised by great kindness, compassion, gladness and indifference—*maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekṣā* (慈 悲 喜 捨). The Bodhisattva loves to practise these four laws so that all living beings may acquire the *anutpādadharma-kṣānti*."

The *śūnyatā*, the fundamental truth of the Mahāyāna is stated to be the goal. This truth has two aspects, the absolute—*pāramārthika* (眞 諦) and the relative—*sāṃvṛtika* (俗 諦). The latter, the relative truth concerns the world of phenomena or the dharmas. It consists of the 4 *iryāpathas* (威 儀) or the deportments—walking, standing, sitting, and lying down, 5 *skandhas* (蘊), 4 *dhātus* (界), 6 *indriyas* (入) or internal senses and the 5 *viśayas* (境). But these which constitute the world of phenomena are only true from a relative point of view. From the ultimate or *pāramārthika* point of view they are mere illusions. Their nature is described in the present text by some stock similes found in most of the philosophical texts of the Mahāyāna. It is said: "All kinds of forms, *rūpa* (色 相) are like the magical performance (*indrajāla*—幻 化), the mirage (*mṛgatṛṣṇikā*—陽 焰), the reflection of the moon in the water (*udake candra*—水 中 月), the water bubbles (*budbuda*—水 上 泡), the reflection in the mirror (*pratibimba*—鏡 中 像), the dream (*svapna*—夢), the lightning (*vidyut*—電), the city of kien-ta-p'o (Gandharvanagara—乾 闥 婆 城), the rainbow (*indrādhānu*—虹 霓) etc. This way of seeing things is known as *Paramārtha-satya*." The *Paramārthika* or higher knowledge consists of 18 kinds of *śūnyatā* (空) and 18 kinds of *adṛṣṭa-śūnyatā*

(不見空). The 18 kinds of śūnyatā are said to be neither permanent nor impermanent (*naiva śāśvata naiva aśāśvata* —非常無常) and so they are called truth. The 18 kinds of śūnyatā are as enumerated in the present text are the same as the first 18 of the 20 Śūnyatā described in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (cf. *The Analysis of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra* by Dr. E. Obermiller, fasc. ii, pp. 126 ff.). Obermiller, following Stcherbatsky, has translated the word śūnyatā as “relativity.” The last two of the 20 kinds of śūnyatā which do not occur in the present text are: “the relativity of the essence of existence” and “the relativity of a foreign origin” (ibid., pp. 140-141). The adṛṣṭa aspect of the 18 kinds of śūnyatā does not occur in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*.

This is all that is said on the philosophy of Vajrayāna in the present text. It is the fundamental doctrine of the Mahāyāna philosophy and has no special feature. But the mystico-religious practices are the most important in this system of the Mahāyāna and they are also enumerated in the present text. It consists of the various kinds of yoga that are generally mentioned as Yoga, Samādhi-Yoga, Samanta-mukha-samādhi etc. The methods of these Yogic practices are not stated. It is said that this Yoga leads to the attainment of various spiritual powers called Siddhi (成就). The eight siddhis are enumerated in the present text: *ārya-bhaiṣajya* (聖藥), *cakṣur-bhaiṣajya* (眼—), *khaḍga-bhaiṣajya* (劍—), *pāśa-bhaiṣajya* (○索—), *vajracakra-bhaiṣajya* (金剛輪—), *vajradanda-bhaiṣajya* (金剛杆—), *ratnabhāṇḍa-bhaiṣajya* (寶瓶—) and *upānaba-bhaiṣajya* (革甕—). I have not been able to trace the significance of these eight siddhis. The eight siddhis, well-known in the Brahmanical texts are: the power to become small (*animā*), the power to become large (*mahimā*), the power to become light (*laghimā*), the power to obtain anything (*prāpti*), the power to do anything at will (*prakāmya*), the power to establish mastery over anything (*iṣitvaṃ*), the power to bring anything under control (*vaśitvaṃ*) and the power to move at will (*kāmasaṃyitvaṃ*). However different the expressions may appear to be, some of these spiritual powers must

have been meant by the eight siddhis mentioned above. Other spiritual powers mentioned in the text are the power to enter the earth (入地), the power to enter the *siu-lo* cave (*sura-guhā* — 入修羅窟) and the power to become invisible.

In the present text the Vajrācāryas receive great consideration. It is said: "You should know that after the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha, the Vajrācāryas are your masters. It has been so before in the countless preceding kalpas..." and again: "Oh, Kulaputras, if the disciples or other men do not have any faith in the Vajrācāryas and in the teachings of the Vajra-mahāyāna...they will as a result be born in the hell and among the lower beings and will fall in other bad ways." The disciples are further required: (i) not to pronounce the teacher's name, (ii) to consider themselves as humble as the feet of the teacher, (iii) to carry the shoes for the teacher, (iv) to sweep the floor of the (teacher's) room (v) to prepare the bed and the seat of the teacher, (vi) to salute the teacher with five parts of the body, (vii) not to injure the teacher, (viii) to have faith in the instructions of the teacher.

The Vajrācāryas alone are capable of saving the disciples from the evil effect of the karma. It is said: "How can the living beings of the *samsāra-cakra* change their karma and attain *anutpāda-kṣānti*? If they are not protected by the Vajrācāryas and taught by them different kinds of good laws, how can they remove all their miseries, attain *nirvāṇa* and the state from which there is no coming back?" The Vajrācāryas are stated to be the authorised custodians of the two truths, the *pāramārthika* and the *sāmṃvṛtika*. Unless they communicate these truths, nobody can acquire the great knowledge of Vajrayāna from a study of the holy texts even for countless kalpas.

The Vajrācāryas also have their duties to perform. They must observe the disciples and examine their capacity and fitness for spiritual exercises. Broadly speaking there are four kinds of disciples: the *Buddhayāna*, the *Prathamayāna*, *Prathamāśīkṣā-bodhisattva-yāna* and *Sarva-bodhisattva-mahāsattva-caryā* (*yāna*). They seem to be rather

stages, one leading to the other, of spiritual progress. All the stages are not clearly explained in the text. It seems that the first indicates an initiation to the Vajrayāna; in the second stage the disciple is taught the relative truth (sāṃvṛtika-satya) and in the last two stages the yoga and samādhi which lead to the realisation of the paramārtha-satya.

The disciples are of five kinds according to their aptitudes. These are called kula (部) and pudgala (補特伽羅). The five kulas are the Tathāgatakula (如來部), Vajrakula (金剛—), Ratnakula (寶—), Padmakula (蓮華—) and Karmakula (羯磨—). The five kinds of pudgalas are: Ratna- (寶), Caṇḍālā- (贊捺囉), Padma- (鉢訥摩), Puṇḍarīka- (弁拏哩迦) and Udumbara- (烏怛鉢羅). The kulas seem to be a more general classification whereas the pudgala a more particular one, the bases of both being the five skandhas. The texts relating to the five kulas have been quoted and discussed in my *Studies in the Tantras* (pp. 36 ff.). The principal text which has been discussed there is a chapter of the unpublished *Hevajra-tantra*, a fundamental text of the Vajrayāna. According to it, the five kulas are the Tathāgata, Ratna, Vajra, Karma and Padma. They are supposed to be the same as Brāhmaṇī, Caṇḍālī, Ḍombī, Rajakī and Naṭī. The spiritual aptitudes of the five kinds of disciples have been fully described in the present text.

The last two things to be explained in the present text are the initiation (abhiṣeka) and the sacrifice to fire (agni-sthāpana). This initiation is the mystic initiation (maṇḍalābhiṣeka). It is said that there are 20 kinds of maṇḍalas in the Guhya-Mahāyāna and that there are also special methods of initiation for entering them. One of these maṇḍalas has been described in the present text. It is after this initiation that the nature of the disciple and his aptitude can be properly understood by the Vajrācārya.

The fire sacrifice or agnisthāpana has also a place in this initiation ceremony. The things necessary for this sacrifice are the sacrificial pot, pātrī (po-ti-li — 播帝哩), ladle, sruva (su-lu-p'o — 嚕嚕)

kuśa seats and homa wood. Offerings of the five grains, butter etc. are made to the Fire-god. If an examination of the colour, form, flame, sound, smell etc. of the fire shows auspicious signs then we have to understand that the ceremony has attained perfection. There are numerous texts on Homavidhi in the Vajrayāna literature. I have given at the end of the relevant chapter from a popular Vajrayāna compendium. the Kriyāsamuccaya.

THE TEXT

CHAPTER I

Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Exalted One was residing in the garden of *ngan-lo* (āmra) tree in the city of Kuang-yen (Vaiśālī). With the great community of monks at that place there were six hundred thousand men in all. The Venerable monks present there were Mahā-Kāśyapa, Uruvilva-Kāśyapa, Nadī-Kāśyapa, Subhūti, Channa, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, Śāriputra, Kapphina, Mahīdhara, Upālī and Ānanda. They and other monks numbered six hundred thousand in all. There were besides the Bodhisattva-Mahāsattvas named Siṃhaveda, Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśagarbha, Samantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi, Sarvanivāraṇa, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Ratnagraha, Padmakumuda, Śāśvara-dṛḍhakāya, Ratnasāgaramatī, Viśuddha Mañjughoṣa, Jvalaprabha, Mañjughoṣa, Cintāprabha, Vibhu-lokadhātu-siṃhacārin, Viśuddha-vimala-suvarṇa-prabhāsa, Kuśalāśīla-kuśalacārin, Āsphānaka-lokarāja, Devaśvara-dṛḍhaśvara, Sarvadharmēśvara, Maityeya and similar other Bodhisattva-Mahāsattvas numbering six million in all.

At that time the Exalted One emitted a powerful light from his mouth. This light overshadowed even the sun and the moon. It contained all the colours, namely green, yellow, white, red, blue etc.

These countless colours reached the innumerable worlds up to the world of Brahma, shone and returned to the crown of the Exalted One and entered into it.

Thereupon the Venerable Ānanda got up from his seat, bowed, uncovered his right shoulder, bent his right knee on the ground and with folded hands respectfully said: Oh, Exalted One, it is not without reason that the Tathāgata emitted this great light. For what reason has the Exalted One emitted this great light today? May the Tathāgata be kind to explain it to us.

Thereupon the Exalted One said to Ānanda: Just as you have said, it is not without reason (that I have emitted this light). Listen to me, I shall explain to you the reason clearly. There are, Ānanda, countless living beings who have acquired the anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti and reached the Nirvāṇadhātu. It is for them that I have emitted this light.

At the time when the Exalted One was saying this there was present the Devaputra *Yin-na-lo-pu-ti* (Indrabodhi) with his armies of four elements (caturaṅgabala). He came with different kinds of offerings, went up to Buddha, worshipped him respectfully, bowed to him by touching his feet, stood on one side and thought: It is my desire to listen today to the law of profound mystery (parama-guhya). He then bowed to the feet of the Exalted One bending his right knee on the ground and with folded hands respectfully said to the Buddha: Oh, Bhagavan, you are the great master of the three worlds and the father of all living beings. I am foolish like a small child and do not possess either the prajñā or the upāya. I am like a blind man who is filled with passion. May the exalted One have mercy on an unhappy man like me and tell me the upāya by which my senses (indriyas) can attain the anutpādadharma-kṣānti in regard to all the domains (viśayas).

Thereupon the Exalted One praised the king and said: Well done, Well done, I know that what you have asked is for the living beings of the last part of the future kalpa so that they may acquire the

anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti. Then the Exalted One told the Great king: I have four kinds of excellent laws and if you hear them you will certainly attain the anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti.

As soon as Ānanda heard these words from his place in the midst of the great assembly he came forward, bowed to Buddha with folded hands and asked: Oh, Exalted One, how are the four kinds of laws known? The Buddha said: The four kinds of laws are these; the Śrāvakayāna and the Pratyeka-Buddhayāna are the two vehicles which are of advantage to one's own self and not to others. There are other two vehicles—the Vaipulya-Mahāyāna and the Anuttara Vajra-Mahāyāna. These make the vehicles four in number.

Ānanda again asked: What is the nature of the Vajra-Mahāyāna? Buddha replied: If a Bodhisattva cultivates the higher and great resolution to attain Bodhi (anuttara-mahā-bodhicitta) he is known as Vajrayāna-sattva. This bodhicitta is of advantage not only to one's own self but also to others. By cultivating it a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva can unfold the upāya, and make all the indriyas, their corresponding viśayas as well as their causes attain the anutpāda-dharmakṣānti.

When the king Indrabodhi heard the Exalted One explaining the four laws to Ānanda he felt very happy and asked the Buddha: Oh, Exalted One, how did the Bodhisattva Mahāsattvas unfold the upāya, and make all the indriyas, their corresponding viśayas as well as their causes attain the anutpāda-dharmakṣānti? Buddha said: Oh, great king, formerly in the past immeasurable, limitless and unthinkable great kalpa a Buddha came out to the world; his name was Sūryaviśuddha-prabha-tathāgata, who was arhat, samyak-sambuddha, vidyā-carāṇasampanna, sugata, lokavid, anuttara, puruṣadamyasārathi, deva-manuṣyānām śāstā, buddha and lokanātha. The world of that Buddha was called Mahāsugandha. The limit of the life of Sūryaviśuddha-prabha-tathāgata was 90,000 kalpas. The living beings of the world of that Buddha possessed keen intelligence. All had successfully

practised the great bodhicitta. At that time there was on earth a king named Vīryadatta who was powerful like a Cakra(vartī) king and possessed an army of four elements which followed him in the van and the rear to the place where Buddha was staying. He took different kinds of incense and flower and offered them to the Buddha. He worshipped the Buddha, made a pradakṣiṇa and then bent his knees and with folded hands asked the Exalted One: How can, Oh Lord, the indriyas and the viṣayas attain the anutpādadharma-kṣānti, Buddha replied: Oh great king, in the past, future and present times, the Exalted Buddhas have spoken on the means by which the indriyas and the viṣayas can acquire the anutpādadharma-kṣānti. Thereupon the king Vīryadatta again asked Buddha: What is the original nature of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva? Buddha said: The nature of the Bodhisattva is characterised by great kindness, compassion, gladness and indifference (mahāmaitrī, -karuṇā, -muditā and -upekṣā). These four things constitute the nature of the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva loves to practise these four laws so that all living beings may acquire the anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti.

At that time Sūrya-viśuddha-prabha-tathāgata turned to the left side to all great Bodhisattva Mahāsattvas and said to the Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva: You should go to live in the palace of the king Vīryadatta as the king desires to learn the Vajra-mahāyāna. You should speak to him on the practice of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva and also on the upāya for the benefit of the king, his followers and other beings and lead them to acquire the anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti. On getting this order of Buddha, the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi rose from his seat, bowed, uncovered his right shoulder, bent his right knee on the ground and with folded hands said to the Buddha: I shall do as you say. I shall now follow the noble intention of the Tathāgata and live there for the deliverance of others. When the king Vīryadatta heard the Buddha say this, he turned, went up to the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, bowed to him with his head and face inclined and invited him by

saying: May the Venerable Bodhisattva only out of respect for Buddha's order take pity on me and accept the proposal to come and live in my palace in order to speak on the Vajra-mahāyāna and explain the anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti so that all living beings may acquire great benefit. Vajrapāṇi then became silent. Knowing that he had agreed the king placed the four elements of his army in the van and the rear and returned to his palace in the chariot with the Bodhisattva. He then worshipped the Bodhisattva by offering him chattra, cāmara, gandha, puṣpa, devadāsī and music. The king's city was known as Anuttara. When the people inside the city heard that the Bodhisattva was coming, they filed in the streets and worshipped him with gandha and puṣpa. The Bodhisattva then reached the palace. The king Vīryadatta gave him the seven-jewelled Lion throne and invited the Bodhisattva to sit on it. He then worshipped him by offering to him different kinds of gold, silver and precious objects, gave him a precious jar filled with scented *argha* water and offered five kinds of pūjā to the Bodhisattva. Many Bhikṣus of the Bhikṣu-saṅgha who were eager to listen to the law came with gandha and puṣpa and worshipped the Bodhisattva. Thereupon the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, according to the methods of the law heard from the Buddha, entered the great maṇḍala and brought the water purified by Vajra for the abhiṣeka of the king. The king Vīryadatta received his abhiṣeka. Thereafter all the Bhikṣu-saṅgha, all Kṣatriyas, Brahmins, Vaiśyas, Śūdras etc. came to the king's palace where the Bodhisattva was. They desired to hear the law, practise the Bodhicitta and enter the Vajrayāna. The Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva then spoke for their benefit on the practice of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, on the different characteristics of the indriya-dharma, on nidānopāya etc., on the Tathāgatakula, Vajrakula, Ratnakula, Padmakula and Karmakula according to the Vajrayāna, and also on the means of attaining Samādhi, Sambodhi etc. and also explained the nirvāṇadhātu.

At that time the king Vīryadatta of South India was a king of

profound faith and full of respect. He gladly learnt the anuttara-dharma and entered the Vajra-mahāyāna. He then enquired after the nature of the indriyas of all beings as well as yoga, samādhi and sambodhi and understood the means of attaining anutpāda-dharmakṣānti and the nirvāṇadhātu. There was then a king in Northern India named Mauryavarman like him, a king like him in Eastern India named Subāhu and a king like him in Western India named Śatabāhu. A hundred thousand Bhikṣus then came with many precious things and choicest clothes. They came to the Bodhisattva, worshipped him, showed him respect, bowed to him and said: With sincere heart we have gladly searched for the anuttara-vajra mahāyāna, the nature of the indriyas of all living beings, yoga, samādhi, and sambodhi and unfolded the means of acquiring the anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti and the nirvāṇadhātu. Thus all the people of the country saw, heard and gladly followed the practice of the mahābodhicitt-otpāda. There were then many Vajrācāryas such as—Bodhināga, Bodhidatta, Dharmanāga, Bhadradatta, Guṇadatta, Samudradatta, and also other ācāryas like them. They heard the law of yoga from the Bodhisattva and realised the anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti. At this time the queens, the concubines etc. of the palace of king Subāhu of Eastern India as well as the people of his capital, all gladly followed the law of samādhi-yoga, according to the original anuttara dharma, and acquired success (siddhi) and the spiritual power to become invisible. There were then in Northern India the Vajrācāryas named Bhadrāsena, Guṇāsena, Nirvāṇāsena, Uttarasena, Aśmagupta, Devagupta, Subalagupta etc., the Brāhmaṇas Nāda, Hariśāmba, Puṇḍarika and such other ācāryas and Brāhmaṇas. They heard the Bodhisattva speak on the Vajramahāyāna, the yoga and samādhi and realised the anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti. At that time the queens and the women of the palace of king Śatabāhu of Western India heard the profound Vajramahāyāna and all its essential laws as spoken by the Bodhisattva and acquired the Vajra-jñāna, success in yoga and samādhi as well as the spiritual power (aiśvarya) to become

invisible. Many Vajrācāryas of India such as Jñānamitra, Sumitra, Bhadramitra, Matimitra, Matibhadra, Vimalabhadra etc., the Vaiśyas named Sucinta, Indrava, Indrara, Viśuddhaprabha etc. as well as other ācāryas and Vaiśyas heard the anuttara-vajra-mahāyāna and the sad-dharma spoken by the Bodhisattva and realised the anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti. The queens and women of the palace of king Mauryavarman of North India and others such as the Śramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas etc. gladly entered the Vajra-mahāyāna and heard the essential laws spoken by the Bodhisattva and attained success in the practice of true Yoga and Samādhi according to the Vajra-jñāna and acquired the power to become invisible.

The Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi then explained all the essentials of Vajra-mahāyāna during six years for the benefit of the kings, Śramaṇas, Vaiśyas and others so that the kings and all those who had fixed their mind on the auspicious law derived great benefit and happiness. He again explained the law concerning the siddhi (spiritual success), such as the eight great (siddhis)—the ārya-bhaiṣajya, cakṣur-bhaiṣajya, khadga-, pāśa-, vajracakra-, vajradaṇḍa-, ratnabhāṇḍa- and upānaha-. He also spoke on the siddhi such as entering the cave sin-lo (suraguhā-praveśa) and *vaśīkaraṇam*. At that time the kings, Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, all constantly and steadfastly followed the teaching.

The Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi then told the whole community: In this place there is a great mountain named Mahādhara. The top of this mountain is even, wide and solitary. In that place there are pleasant gardens, lakes and ponds. You kings, Śramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas, Sūdras and others, who have learnt the Vajramahāyāna, you should go to this mountain with me for practising (the law) and living (with me). Later on, at another time, he unexpectedly told the community: The Tathāgata Sūryaviśuddhaprabha Samyaksambuddha is about to enter the nirvāṇa. You should now go with me to the Buddha in order to seek for abhiṣeka. Thereupon all followers of Vajra-mahāyāna as well as the Bodhisattva took various kinds of choicest gandha

and puṣpa and went to see the Sūryaviśuddhaprabha-tathāgata. Coming to him they worshipped him with gandha and puṣpa and went round him singing in his praise. They then bowed to Buddha's feet by bending their head on the ground and then respectfully sat in front of him.

Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva then went out of the assembly forward, uncovered his right shoulder, bent his right knee on the ground, folded his hands in Vajra pose across his heart and told the Exalted One: I went to the king's palace according to the orders of the Tathāgata in order to help the kings, Śramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas and all those who had practised Bodhicitta and desired for the acquisition of the knowledge of Vajra-mahāyāna, and to explain the Vajra-mahāyāna and other laws concerning the indriyas and viśayas to them so that they might attain anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti. Oh, Exalted One, I now request you to confer abhiṣeka on these disciples according to the law of Vajra-mahāyāna of the Tathāgata. May the Tathāgata have compassion to grant it to them.

Thereupon the Tathāgata Sūryaviśuddhaprabha looked to the right and to the left and emitted a great light from his mouth. The light had five different colours and in a *kṣaṇa*, it illuminated the lands of Buddha, as numerous as the sands of the river Gaṅgā, reached the Brahmā world above and illuminated everything. It then came back and entered the mouth of the Buddha. At that time all Tathāgatas in the lands of Buddha illuminated by the light praised it and said: The Vajra-mahāyāna is the support of all the Yānas in the past, present and future times. They all said the same thing again: The Vajra-mahāyāna is the support of all Yānas. Thereupon all those who had learnt the Vajra-mahāyāna received the abhiṣeka. After receiving the abhiṣeka they bent their heads, saluted the feet of the Exalted Tathāgata Sūryaviśuddha-prabha and the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. They then went round them in a circle a thousand times, happily sang in their praise and then each of them returned to his own place.

The Tathāgata Sūryaviśuddhaprabha after a short time entered the Nirvāṇa. When the law had lasted for one thousand years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi went to the hill Mahīdhara to live there quietly. All the followers of Vajra-mahāyāna then told each other: The Bodhisattva, our original teacher, has gone back to this mountain. We should now go to that mountain in order to worship him and practise all the essential duties of the Vajra-mahāyāna. Then the assembly of disciples, all Śramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas etc. took gandha, puṣpa and went together to the Mahīdhara hill where the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi was staying. On reaching the mountain each of them worshipped the Bodhisattva with gandha, puṣpa and precious things, went round him in a circle (pradakṣiṇa), saluted him and then remained there with him. When the Bodhisattva saw that the disciples had come to the mountain to worship him with a mind made firm through practices, he told them: Each of you have heard from me all essential laws of the Vajra-mahāyāna and have attained the anutpādadharma-kṣānti, and nirvāṇadhātu. You should now hear the truth. My teacher Sūrya-viśuddhaprabha-tathāgata has entered the Nirvāṇa. All beings are now pitiful and without refuge. Follow well what I tell you now. After the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha the Vajrācāryas will be your teachers. These ācāryas will be able to protect and support the domain of Buddha. They will also protect and support the secret law (guhya dharma) of Vajra and so they will be able to speak the name in four letters which is the characteristic of Tathāgata. You all should follow these teachers. You should constantly make offerings to them with respect, just as to the Buddha. This will induce all the Tathāgatas to protect you constantly. This will enable you to see the Tathāgatas in front (of yourself). You, disciples, should always have respect for these teachers and make gifts to them of seats, beds, clothes, hot water and medicine so that they may not be lacking in anything. You should not tread on the teacher's shadow although you must be always near him. You should love the co-disciples without

distinction and with sincerity. Oh, Kulaputras, if the disciples or other men do not have any faith in the Vajrācāryas and in the teachings of the Vajra-mahāyāna, if they have evil thoughts (in these regards) and speak ill (of these things) they will as a result be born in the hell and among the lower beings and will fall in other bad ways (gati). Why? Because all the laws are produced from it (Vajra-mahāyāna); so if one defames it he consequently defames the law. If there are beings who have not stopped the revolution of the wheel (of rebirth) they should seek for this teaching. You should explain the Vajra-mahāyāna according to the nature of their indriyas, so that they may attain the Vajrasamādhi.

The Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi again said: The Vajra-mahāyāna, is all Tathāgatas and all Tathāgatas are the great knowledge. Oh disciples, if anybody does not take refuge in the Samādhi taught by me (var. three moments) I will destroy (and reduce him) to ashes. So saying the Bodhisattva gave Vajra water to the disciples to drink. Then he made the Krodhamudrā on the head of the disciples. At last he told the Buddhaputras: Your body is supported by Vajrasamādhi. If anybody violates it and does not follow it you can destroy him by means of my Vajrasamādhimudrā and Krodhamudrā. Then the Bodhisattva, according to the law of former Buddhas, gave abhiṣeka to all the disciples, recited the awakening mantras, so that all might be awakened. Then he showed them the Vajraṇḍa, explained his own name and distributed the disciples in eight places. Then all the disciples of Vajra-mahāyāna having received from the Bodhisattva all the teachings of the law looked at him, praised him in different kinds of songs, worshipped him and said: "Let each one of us, according to the instruction of the Bodhisattva, get to the Vajrācāryas, worship them and sing in their praise in various ways, according to your noble intention." Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Vajrapāṇi having finished his work of converting people became invisible.

CHAPTER II

At that time the Exalted One told the great king Indrabodhi: Oh, great king, you were king Vīryadatta in the past countless great kalpas called Asaṃkheya when the law of the Tathāgata Sūryaviśuddhaprabha was in vogue. At that time in the company of learned men you learnt the Vajra-mahāyāna and other essential laws in the place of that Buddha. Now here in the Sahalokadhātu in the place of the Buddha Śākyamuni you will again learn the Vajramahāyāna. On hearing this Indrabodhi asked the Exalted One with folded hands: Who is called Bodhisattva Mahāsattva? Buddha replied: He who has practised mahā-maitrī, mahā-karuṇā, mahā-muditā and mahā-*upekṣā* is called a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva.

On saying this the Exalted One turned to the left and said to Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi: Now as in the past Kalpa when the law of the Tathāgata Sūryaviśuddhaprabha was in vogue, you may speak to the great king Indrabodhi on the Vajramahāyāna, the conduct of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva and different kinds of law relating to indrīya, viśaya and the upāya of attaining the anutpādadharma-kṣānti. At that time the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Vajrapāṇi got up from his seat, uncovered the right shoulder, saluted at the feet of Buddha with bent head and said with folded hands: I shall speak on it under the direction of the Tathāgata.

On hearing this Indrabodhi was overjoyed; the hairs of his body stood on their ends; he rose from his seat, bowed to the feet of the Exalted One and also to the feet of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi and said: May the Bodhisattva as directed by Buddha go to my palace in order to teach me (the law). Thereupon the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi accepted Buddha's order and saw that Indrabodhi was full of faith in respect of body and mind; so he signified his consent by keeping silent. When Indrabodhi found that Vajrapāṇi agreed he fell at the

latter's feet, worshipped him and jumped in joy. He then saluted the Buddha and retired. Then his four armies went in procession in the front and the rear with the Bodhisattva in the same precious chariot with him covered by an umbrella and played all kinds of music. Thus they reached the great city of Man-ngo-lo-pu-lang (Maṅgalapuram) and passed through the streets in the midst of the city with the Bodhisattva and the king. All the people worshipped them with *gandha* and *puṣpa* till they reached the palace. Indrabodhi then brought out the great seven-jewelled lion throne. The Bodhisattva got down from the chariot and took his seat on it. The queens and other members of the royal family offered to him different kinds of *gandha* and *puṣpa*, precious things and good clothes. They also gave a precious jar filled with scented *argha* water to the Bodhisattva.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Vajrapāṇi explained the secret teaching of the Vajramahāyāna, the yoga, the samādhi the sambodhi as he had heard it from the Buddha, and all kinds of laws one by one so that the king might acquire the anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti, nirvāṇadhātu etc. At that time many Śramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras etc. came to the king's palace and wished to hear the Vajramahāyāna and all kinds of good law.

There were then also the great king Dharmaprabha of the country of Mālava in Eastern India, the king Ajitasena of Northern India, the great king Candraprabha of Western India, the king Bimbisāra of Magadha, the king Prasenajit of Srāvasti, the king Brahmadatta of the Licchavi country. There were also innumerable Śramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras and many others in whom the Bodhicitta had been awakened. They all came to the palace to hear the law. Each of them had great faith, joyful mind and they said to the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi: We all wish to enter the Vajra-mahāyāna and understand the various kinds of good laws. Thereupon the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, during six years, explained at length to all the kings and the assemblies the Vajra-mahāyāna, the conduct of the Bodhi-

sattva (Bodhisattvacaryā), the countless hundreds of thousands of koṭis of yoga, samādhi, sambodhi and the good laws relating to the origin of the viśayas.

Thus Indrabodhi heard the law and was enlightened in regard to Samādhi and Sambodhi in the yogic law of the Tathāgata and acquired anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti, nirvāṇadhātu and the spiritual power to become invisible. So also the queens of the palace, the relatives of the king and the officers of the kingdom, heard the Vajra-mahāyāna and its essential laws and attained anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti. There were then in that country the Vajrācāryas named Sunāga, Arthanāga, Ratnaśravaṇa, Śīlaśravaṇa, Prabhākaraśravaṇa. There were also the Brāhmaṇas named Dharmanāga, Balabhadra etc. who were initiated into the law of Vajra-mahāyāna and attained anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti, and nirvāṇa-dhātu. The great king Dharmaprabha of the country of Mālava in Eastern India got initiated to the law of anuttara-Vajra-mahāyāna, learnt the law of fundamental yoga and acquired anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti, nirvāṇa-dhātu and the supernatural power to become invisible. The women of the palace, relatives of the king and the officers of the kingdom, all heard the Vajra-mahāyāna and all the good laws and attained the anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti and nirvāṇa-dhātu. There were then in India the Vajrācāryas named Bhadradeva, Tathāgatadeva, Sudeva and the Kṣatriyas named Īsavarma, Nīpavarma etc. who heard the law of Vajra-mahāyāna and acquired the anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti and nirvāṇa-dhātu.

There was also king Ajitasena of North India who got initiated to the Vajra-mahāyāna and its essential laws, received teaching on the pāramārthika-satya, were enlightened in regard to Yoga, Samādhi and Sambodhi, anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti, nirvāṇa-dhātu and acquired spiritual power to become invisible. The women and the concubines as well as the royal dignitaries of the palace and the officers, heard the good laws relating to the Vajra-mahāyāna and all attained anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti. There were then in that part of India Vajrācāryas

named Bhadrasukha and Padmasukha, a Kṣatriya named Udayavarma and a Vaiśya named Dharmaguhyā. They all heard the law relating to Vajra-mahāyāna and attained anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti, and nirvāṇa-dhātu.

In Western India there was Candrababha-mahārāja who got initiated to the laws relating to the Vajra-mahāyāna and became enlightened in regard to Vajra-mukha-yoga. Samādhi etc. and attained anutpāda-dharma-kṣānti, and nirvāṇa-dhātu and acquired the spiritual power to become invisible. The women of the palace, the royal dignitaries, the Vajrācāryas named Amoghasiddhi, Sarvatosiddhi, Tathāgatasiddhi and the Kṣatriyas named Sugupta. Sūryavarman etc. all heard the good laws of the Vajra-mahāyāna and acquired anutpāda-dharmakṣānti, and nirvāṇa-dhātu.

The Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Vajrapāṇi after having explained the laws of Vajra-mahāyāna to the kings and the disciples next explained the eight kinds of spiritual success (siddhi) namely—ārya-bhaiṣajya, cakṣur-bhaiṣajya, khadga-, pāśa-, vajracakra-, vajra-daṇḍa-, ratnabhāṇḍa- and upānaha-. He also explained the siddhi of entering the earth and entering the su-lo cave (sura-gūhā) and also spoke on the caryā of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva which is the support of the Vajra-mahāyāna. He also spoke on the nidāna of the indriya and viśaya so that each disciple could remove indolence.

The Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi explained the various upāyas and laws by examples to the kings and other disciples of Vajra-mahāyāna during six years. He then told them: You should know that there is a mountain called Ki-ki-na. The top of the hill is level and wide. The trees and lakes have made it a pleasant place. I am now going there before you. You Śramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras and all other disciples who have entered the Vajra-mahāyāna you may all go there and assemble. Then they went and assembled there. The Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi said: The Exalted Śākyamuni will now enter nirvāṇa. You all should go with me to Buddha in order to get your abhiṣeka.

Thereupon the entire community of disciples accompanied the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi and left the mountain. The kings ordered their four armies to follow in the front and the rear. They took different kinds of the best offerings and went to the place where the Exalted One was. At that time the Exalted One Śākyamuni was staying in the city of Kuśinagara. The Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Vajrapāṇi and the community of disciples on coming to Buddha made the offerings to him, showed great respect to the Exalted One, made pradakṣiṇa, bowed to him three times, sang in his praise and sat in front of the Buddha. The Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi then got up from his seat, uncovered his right shoulder, bent his right knee to the ground and with Vajra-folded hands told the Exalted One: According to the order of Buddha to preach the caryā of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva and the law of the Vajra-mahāyāna, I have spoken for the disciples on the nidāna of the indriya and viśaya and all other laws so that each of them could attain Samādhi, Sambodhi, anutpāda dharma-kṣānti, nirvāṇa-dhātu and the spiritual power to become invisible. Oh, Exalted One, I have thus spoken on the benefits of the law. I have now come to request the Buddha on behalf of the community so that it might get the abhiṣeka from the Tathāgata.

The Exalted One then looked to the right and the left and a light of five colours went out from the crown of his head. That light shone for a kṣaṇa. It illuminated the lands of Buddha as numerous as the sands of the Gaṅgā and also the land of Brahmā. The rays then came back and entered the crown of the Buddha. Then all the Tathāgatas praised in different voices the light that had illuminated the places in ten directions and said: The Vajra-mahāyāna is the support of all the Yānas. All the Buddhas in the past, future and present had said the same thing again: The Vajra-mahāyāna is the support of all the Yānas. The Exalted One then took the Vajra water and gave abhiṣeka to all the disciples of the Vajra-mahāyāna. The entire community of the disciples received the abhiṣeka. They then bent their head

and face on the ground, saluted the feet of the Exalted One, also saluted the feet of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi and then sang in their praise and jumped in joy. They then made pradakṣiṇa for hundred thousand times and each returned to his own place.

Thereupon the Venerable Ānanda told Buddha: Oh, Exalted One, such is the right law but how to call it and how to distinguish it? Buddha replied: Ānanda this right law may be now called anuttara-mahāyāna-ratnarāja and it may be distinguished in that way. When the Tathāgata, the Samyaksambuddha Śākyamuni had narrated this Sūtra and attained nirvāṇa in the city of Kuśiāgara, the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi returned to the Ki-ki-na mountain. Many Bodhisattvas and Śrāvakas came with him to the mountain. All the disciples of Vajra-mahāyāna then told each other: Our original teacher the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Vajrapāṇi has now gone to the Ki-ki-na mountain. We should also go to that mountain and worship him. All the disciples then went to that mountain with different kinds of incense, flower and precious substances. On reaching the mountain each of them worshipped him with flowers and incense, bowed to him and made pradakṣiṇa, showed him respect, sang in his praise and sat on one side.

When the Bodhisattva saw the assembly of Śramaṇa, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Sūdra and others he told them: You disciples, carefully listen to what I say. Each of you have received the complete explanation of the Vajra-mahāyāna, and got the law of Vajra-mahāyāna. You should know that after nirvāṇa of Buddha the Vajrācāryas are your masters. It has been so before in the countless preceding kalpas, in the time of the Tathāgata Sūrya-viśuddha-prabha, when there was a king named Viryadatta in the Mahā-sugandha Buddha world. Then also as now I had spoken on respecting the law of the Vajrācāryas. Now again I am asking the disciples to show respect to the law of the Vajrācāryas. There are eight kinds of rules regarding 'respecting' (*mānanā*).

Indrabodhi asked the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi: What are the eight kinds of rules of 'respecting.' Vajrapāṇi replied:

- (1) Not to pronounce the teacher's name.
- (2) To consider oneself always as (humble as) the feet of the teacher.
- (3) To carry the shoes for the teacher.
- (4) To sweep the floor of the (teacher's) room.
- (5) To prepare the bed and the seat of the teacher.
- (6) To salute with five parts of the body.
- (7) Not to injure the teacher.
- (8) To have faith in the instructions (of the teacher).

These are the eight rules for the disciple of showing respect to the Vajrācārya. The Ācāryas also should examine the disciples in regard to these eight things, for days, months and years. If the disciple is able to observe these eight rules with complete concentration then only he can hold up the teaching of the Ācāryas.

The Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi again said: Like the insects and flies of the world all are reborn in the bad cycle of existence on account of their nidāna and do not know how to get away from it. In the same way how can the living beings of the saṃsāra-cakra change their karma and attain anutpāda-kṣānti? If they are not protected by the Vajrācāryas and taught by them the different kinds of good laws, how can they remove all their miseries, attain nirvāṇa and the state from which there is no coming back (anivartanīya)? Oh, great king, these Vajrācāryas will at first see whether the conduct of the disciple admitted by them is noble or ignoble and will then deliver the two truths to him. The king asked: What are these two truths? The Bodhisattva replied: These are the (i) absolute truth (pāramārthika satya) and (ii) the relative truth (sāmvṛtika satya). Then the king asked: What is the absolute truth? The Bodhisattva replied. It is said to be—

- (1) adhyātma-śūnyatā (內空)
- (2) bahirdhā-śūnyatā (外空)

- (3) adhyātma-bahirdhā śūnyatā (內 外 空)
- (4) śūnyatā śūnyatā (空 空)
- (5) mahā śūnyatā (大 空)
- (6) paramārtha śūnyatā (勝 義 空)
- (7) saṃskṛta śūnyatā (有 爲 空)
- (8) asaṃskṛta śūnyatā (無 爲 空)
- (9) atyānta śūnyatā (畢 竟 空)
- (10) anavarāga śūnyatā (無 際 空)
- (11) anavakāra śūnyatā (無 變 異 空)
- (12) prakṛti śūnyatā (本 性 空)
- (13) sarva-dharma śūnyatā (一 切 法 空)
- (14) anupalambha (?) śūnyatā (無 所 有 空)
- (15) abhāva śūnyatā (無 性 空)
- (16) svabhāva śūnyatā (自 性 空)
- (17) svalakṣaṇa śūnyatā (自 相 空)
- (18) abhāva-svabhāva śūnyatā (無 性 自 性 空)

Oh, Great king, these eighteen kinds of śūnyatā are the absolute truth (paramārtha satya). The king again asked: What is a truth? The Bodhisattva replied: The eighteen kinds of śūnyatā are neither permanent nor impermanent (naiva śāśvata naiva aśāśvata) and so they are called truth (satya). That is the reason for which it is called:

- (1) adṛṣṭa-adhyātma-śūnyatā
- (2) adṛṣṭa-bahirdhā-śūnyatā
- (3) adṛṣṭa-adhyātma-bahirdhā-śūnyatā
- (4) adṛṣṭa-śūnyatā-śūnyatā
- (5) adṛṣṭa-mahā-śūnyatā
- (6) adṛṣṭa paramārtha śūnyatā
- (7) adṛṣṭa saṃskṛta śūnyatā
- (8) adṛṣṭa asaṃskṛta śūnyatā
- (9) adṛṣṭa atyānta śūnyatā
- (10) adṛṣṭa anavarāga śūnyatā
- (11) adṛṣṭa anavakāra śūnyatā

- (12) adṛṣṭa prakṛti śūnyatā
- (13) adṛṣṭa sarva-dharma śūnyatā
- (14) adṛṣṭa abhāva śūnyatā
- (15) adṛṣṭa svabhāva śūnyatā
- (16) adṛṣṭa svalakṣaṇa śūnyatā
- (17) adṛṣṭa anupalambha śūnyatā
- (18) adṛṣṭa abhāva-svabhāva śūnyatā.

Thus these are the two characteristics—śūnyatā and adṛṣṭa. Its inner significance cannot be determined. It has no birth, no death, no bondage, no freedom from bondage, no movement, no stationery quality. It is neither bright nor dark, neither real nor empty. It has neither transmigration nor nirvāṇa, neither any increase nor decrease. I speak on these different things but they are beyond the reach of body, mouth and mind (kāya, vāk, citta). Hence it is known as the absolute truth (paramārtha satya).

The king then asked: What is the relative truth (sāṃvṛtika satya)? The Bodhisattva replied: The four iryāpathas, the five skandhas, the four dhātus, the six indriyas (internal sense organs), the five viśayas,—i.e. all that make the three worlds move, constitute the relative truth.

The king again asked: Why is the other called Paramārtha satya? The Bodhisattva replied: All kinds of forms (rūpa) are like the magical performance (indrajāla), the mirage (mṛgaṭṛṣṇikā), the reflection of the moon in the water (udake candra), the water bubbles (budbuda), the reflection in the mirror (pratibimba), the dream (svapna), the lightning (vidyut), the city of kien-ta-p'o (gandharva-nagara), the rainbow (indra-dhanu) etc. The forms are seen like these. This way (of seeing things) is known as Paramārtha satya. If in this way we practise all the dharmas and not the various painful practices we can attain the Buddha as well as all the (spiritual) knowledge. Oh, Great king, you have received the meaning of six koṭis of words undivided and complete (lit. which has no two and no division). These have

been said by all the Tathāgatas. As to the instruction on Vajra you have fully listened to that. This is what is known as Paramārtha-satya. Oh, great king, if you cannot know these two truths and distinguish them, even a study of the holy texts for countless kalpas cannot make you attain the great knowledge that is beyond these shores. These two truths are the support of all the Tathāgatas. They are the father, the mother and they make you live in peace. They constitute the nirvāṇa and the a-fu-po-li-ti-kia (avaivartika) stage. They also lead to enlightenment in all kinds of samādhi and produce full energy in samanta-mukha samādhi. Thus you can have different kinds of merits. Oh, great king, the learners of Vajra-Mahāyāna should carefully select suitable disciples so that the two truths may be communicated to them. It is very difficult to get these two truths. Even the Pratyeka Buddhas and Śrāvakas find it difficult to understand them. What to speak of the heretics?

Thereupon Indrabodhi and other followers of the Vajra-Mahāyāna on hearing all this bowed to the Bodhisattva and thanked him. Indrabodhi then asked the Bodhisattva: What character should a disciple possess in order to be selected as fit? The Bodhisattva replied: There are four kinds of disciples and five kinds of pu-te-kia-lo (pudgala). The king asked: What are the four kinds of disciples? The Bodhisattva replied: the first is Buddhayāna, the second is Prathamayāna, the third Prathama-śikṣā-bodhisattva-yāna and the fourth Sarva-bodhisattva-mahāsattva-caryā. These are the four kinds of lakṣaṇa of the disciple. The king asked: How to distinguish these lakṣaṇas? The Bodhisattva replied: The Buddhayāna is to attain calm, neither to calumniate nor to have faith, to explain one by one and to realise the nature of the secret words and symbols (mantra and mudrā). As a blind man getting a guide on the way one gets mokṣa by getting Buddhayāna. The disciple first relies on the teacher to understand the relative truth (sāmṃvṛtika satya). He then learns the law of yoga and samādhi but does not understand the two doctrines

plain and mystic, the two truths, the twelve nidānas and the Prajñā-pāramitā. This constitutes the lakṣaṇa of the disciple in the first stage of learning.

The king asked the Bodhisattva: What are the five kinds of pudgalas? The Bodhisattva replied: These are the Lo-tan-nang (*Ratna*) -pudgala, Tsan-nai-lo (*Caṇḍāla*) -pudgala, Pen-nei-mo (*Padma*) -pudgala, Pun-na-li (*Puṇḍarika*) -pudgala and Wu-tan-po-lo (*Udumbara*) -pudgala. By listening with faith and by observing the rules of conduct all can be Wu-po-sa-kia (Upāsaka). The king then asked the Bodhisattva: What are the significance of these names? The Bodhisattva replied: The Udumbara-pudgala is one who has heard the law much but has forgotten it after a short time. The Puṇḍari(ka) pudgala is one who although he hears the mystic law, cannot distinguish and explain it like one who cannot find out the pearls in the mud. The Padma-pudgala is one who has a faithful mind and a merciful heart and has heard the law and its explanation. He is like the bamboo without knots through which air passes freely. The Caṇḍāla-pudgala is one who has heard the meaning of the law and has insight (ātma drṣṭi). He is like the drum which is empty and can only produce sound. He has ātma drṣṭi but is of no use to others. These are the four kinds of Upāsakas. The Ratna-pudgala is one who follows the law steadfastly, has faith in Vajrayāna, has a firm mind, hears much, practises the rules of conduct, understands the paramārtha-satya and can follow the secret of the senses (indriya) according to the law which is spoken to him. This is another Upāsaka. He can explain all kinds of law to disciples. The Vajrācāryas choose their disciples in this way. All higher meanings of the Guhya-Mahāyāna may be taught to them if they are of pure mind and excellent character like the disciple of the law. They always keep alive and do not destroy the holy seed.

Indrabodhi then asked: How is the Guhya-Mahāyāna distinguished? The Bodhisattva replied: The knowledge of the two

kinds of doctrines both plain and mystic of yoga consists of twenty kinds of maṇḍalas. All these are called Guhya-Mahāyāna. I shall now briefly speak on the maṇḍala-abhiṣeka. The abhiṣeka-ācārya who desires to confer the abhiṣeka first of all chooses a pure and excellent spot where to establish the maṇḍala peacefully. The disciples purify themselves. The Ācārya prepares the five-coloured thread and the five-coloured powder, makes with it the maṇḍala on the ground, distributes the ho'y seats, burns the incense in different directions and invite the holy men to sit there in order. They are offered flower, incense etc. Then the disciple is led to the maṇḍala and given the abhiṣeka. The disciple who gets the abhiṣeka offers flower, incense etc. to the Ācārya. The disciple then enters the place of Vajra-mahāyāna where abhiṣeka establishes him. He then deeply examines the karma relating to body, mind and speech. When they are properly understood they constitute the five lights. If not understood properly they constitute the five darkness.

Next the ceremony of *agnisthāpanā* is performed. The necessary things required are: Po-ti-li (Pātrī), Su-lo-p'o (Śuva) etc., separate grass seats (kuśāsana), and homa wood. This wood has to be selected from green and soft branches of the tree. The five grains and butter are also required for this homa. First an offering has to be made to the Fire-God while performing the homa. Then examine the colour, form, flame, sound, smell etc. of the fire. If you find the auspicious sign then know that the ceremony has attained perfection. If you do not get the auspicious sign then know that the ceremony is not perfect. Then invite the holy men to enter the maṇḍala and offer them *argha* etc. in order and more or less in the same manner as before. All these laws are from the mystic Vajra Mahāyāna. There are three kinds of Yoga and five Wu-pu-nai-kia-to. That is the meaning of the six koṭis of mystic words, the meaning of the siddhi, meaning of the determination (?) pūrva-caryā, nidāna, upāya etc. It has been thus said that they are either of 4 or 5 or 7

or 12 kinds. They are not fixed and are not different from the two truths. Then speak on the four secrets: the secret teaching, the secret meaning, the secret language, and the secret syllable. If the four secrets are practised without mistakes then they bring siddhi. By uttering the secret syllable the nine grabhas, the evil stars, poison etc. can be pacified. Some bring respect, some prosperity and some the power to subdue men, living beings with four feet, beings without foot and also evil bhūta, yakṣa, bad men etc. If not subdued distraction in love, evils, harmful things, enemies, wars etc. all are removed without fail. By repeating the secret syllables one can get rainfall at the time of drought and get all kinds of desires fulfilled. By reciting the secret syllable and making the Vajra language without interruption, all wishes are surely fulfilled.

The king then asked: What is the Bodhisattva-dhyāna. The Bodhisattva replied: The dhyāna is of different kinds. The repetition of the mantra (dhāraṇī) is also of different kinds. By knowing the secret syllable you can know the dhyāna. The secret is to repeat the syllables and the pāda and to know the mudrā. If you do this you can attain great spiritual power. This is called po fa (白法) 'white law.' By knowing the secret one upholds the paramārtha-satya. Moreover as the body becomes as peaceful as the voidness one understands the law of the world, one attains the mystic knowledge, sees the nature of the mudrā and destroys the doubt by understanding the meaning of the mystic syllable. One who keeps this dhāraṇī is called a *hien*—"saintly man." The men who practice it are seers like the Buddhas. A man who practises dhyāna cannot see the secret syllable, cannot know the nature of the mudrā and cannot see the holy men. By meditating on the cycle of secret words one finds the body (as unreal) as the image reflected in the mirror.

The king then asked: What is the samādhi of the Bodhisattva? The Bodhisattva replied: It is the bodhicitta, the prajñopāya. It leads to the three vidyās and the asamasamaḥ (stage). It is all known

as Bodhisattva-samādhi. Then again to see the original body, to see the nature of the secret words and symbols and to see the images of the holy men and their decorations, all as calm as the voidness, is also Bodhisattva-samādhi. The Bodhisattva enters the samādhi. This is called the two truths about "well established" (*supraṭiṣṭhita*).

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Vajrapāṇi spoke in this way on different kinds of laws for Indrabodhi, other Kṣatriyas as well as all the followers of the Vajra-Mahāyāna. He then made the maṇḍala according to the law and the king and other disciples received their abhiṣeka there. After getting their abhiṣeka all the disciples with different mouths but in one voice told the Bodhisattva as desired. Each one of us according to your instruction have received a Vajrācārya. Then the disciples worshipped the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Vajrapāṇi, showed him all respects and sang in his praise.

When all the great Bodhisattvas inside the community the Śrāvakas, Gods, men, Asura, Garuḍa, Gandharva, Kinnara and all others heard the Bodhisattva speaking this Sūtra they all became very happy, full of faith and bowed to him. Then Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi disappeared inside the mountain and was not seen again.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

The prescription for sacrifice (agnisthāpana) has been given in the present text very briefly. The requisite things for it are pātrī, śrūva, kuśāsana and homa wood. It is prescribed that the wood is to be collected from green and soft branches of trees. The things necessary for offering are the five grains and butter. It is further said that the sacrifice is to be performed after the abhiṣeka or consecration as a ceremony preliminary to entering the mystic maṇḍala.

In the Vajrayāna compendium, the *Kriyāsamuccaya* which has not yet been published, five sections are devoted to sacrifice. They are entitled: Kuṇḍavidhi, Pātrīśrūvavidhi, Homadravyavidhi, Indhanavidhi, Viniveśanavidhi and Agnilakṣaṇa. The sacrifices are recommended for the benefit of the disciples. It is said that they may be performed for four different purposes—*Śāntika*, *Pauṣṭika*, *Vaśya* or *Vaśīkaraṇa* and *Ākarṣaṇa*. The sacrificial basin (kuṇḍa) and the altar (vedī) are in each case different. Thus for the Śāntika sacrifice the basin is to be made circular and the vedī like the pollens of the lotus. For the Pauṣṭika the basin is to be made square shaped; for the Vaśya it is circular and for Ākarṣaṇa it is triangular. The measurements are also given in each case. The pātrī which is the sacrificial pot may be of gold, copper or wood fit to be used for sacrifice. Its holder is of the same wood, 24 aṅgulas in length. It must contain a symbol of Vajra in the middle. The śrūva or the sacrificial ladle may be of the same materials as the pātrī. The homa wood (samidh) has to be collected from some specified trees such as aśvattha, khadira, plakṣa, trees of which the sap has not been dried, which is full of leaves and equal flowers, which are soft and not eaten up by worms. Defective trees are to be avoided. The things necessary for offering are: curd milk, best rice, fried rice, wheat and sesamum (*dadbhikṣīravavarānnāni-dūrvā-*

lājāyavastilāb) and suitable grains, fruits and flowers of which a long list of names is given in the text. In the other sections on sacrifice there is detailed description of the various methods for making the offerings, of the gods in the various quarters etc.

The *Kriyāsamuccaya* is one of the latest compendiums of Vajrayāna which had been compiled probably in the 14th century, the earlier work on which it was based is the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* of Kuladatta of which there are two mss. in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society or Bengal (cf. H. P. Shastri. *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection*, I, nos. 79, 80; there is also a Tibetan translation of the work in the collection of Bstan ḥgyur—*Catalogue of Tibetan Buddhist canons*, Tohoku University, no. 2531). There are also sections on Homavidhi in some of the principal Vajrayāna texts such as Heruka-tantra. Hevajra-tantra etc. For the texts on Homavidhi in the Bstan ḥgyur collection cf. the Tohoku University Catalogue, referred to above, nos. 1223, 1255, 1825, 2177, 2525, 2603, 2659, and 2935. The Vajrayāna ritual had become extremely complicated in course of time and had borrowed many elements from the Brahmanical ritual.

P. C. BAGCHI

Chinese Coins from Tanjore

In September 1943, Dr. A. Aiyappan, the Superintendent of Madras Government Museum, very kindly sent me casts of 20 Chinese coins for examination and report. About the find-spot of these coins he wrote to me: "The coins form part of a find of treasure trove discovered at Vikraman village, Pattukottai Taluk, Tanjore District,—the other objects of the find being two small bronze images, which have been identified as images of crawling Krishna. The treasure was discovered in October 1942 while digging the earth."

I wrote to him for further information on the weight and quality of the coins. In reply he supplied me with the following details: "The coins do not appear to be *pure* copper. A detailed analysis of the coins will be made later when we shall let you know. The approximate weight of each of the coins is furnished in the enclosed list. The twenty coins are put in 9 envelopes—(Nos. 1 to 16 in 8 envelopes—two coins each serially numbered and Nos. 17 to 20 in one envelope). The weight given against each number is therefore likely to be interchanged between the two numbers in each envelope. As the moulds of the casts have been washed away during the last floods here, we are not able in the absence of the casts to indicate the weights correctly against each number. The images of crawling Krishna are specimens of late work of about the 16th or 17th century A.D."

The following weights of the coins are serially given by Dr. Aiyappan:

Serial No.				Weight in Grammes	
1	7.640
2	5.735
3	7.36

Serial No.	Weight in Grammes				
4	3.760
5	6.425
6	6.305
7	7.115
8	5.630
9	4.720
10	4.685
11	3.43
12	3.09
13	4.51
14	3.415
15	2.925
16	2.415
17	3.41
18	3.045
19	2.97
20	1.86

An examination of the coins shows that most of them belong to the Song period and are of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries.¹ Three coins belong to the T'ang period and are of the K'ai-yuan period (713-742). They are the oldest of the lot. The latest coins in the collection belong to the 13th century, the period *shun-yu* (1241 to 1253). The find of these coins in Tanjore is an additional proof of the fact that although relations between China and Northern India came to a close in the middle of the 11th century, commercial relations between China and Southern India continued for at least two centuries more.

The Chinese Buddhist records speak of relations between India and China up to the year 1053 when the last Indian monk named

1 I take this opportunity of thanking my friend Mr. Chou Ta-fu who helped me in identifying some of the coins.

Che-ki-siang went to China. The only evidence of the last Chinese monk coming to India is the Chinese inscription of Bodhgaya dated 1033 (Chavannes—*Les Inscriptions Chinoises de Bodhgaya*, p. 23). But the relations between Southern India and China which started in the T'ang period seem to have continued uninterrupted throughout the Song period. When Chau Ju-kua wrote his famous work, the *Chu fan che* in the beginning of the 13th century, the Chinese sailors were better acquainted with the Chola dominions than with any other part of India.

The coins had apparently been collected from the Chinese sailors but it is difficult to say how the coins of such varying ages as the 8th and the 13th centuries could be brought together. They might have belonged to the collection of some temple in which the coins of such a long period could be possibly preserved. The coins of the Song period, as may be seen from the following table, form an unbroken series from 1008 to 1253 A.D. The Song dynasty came to an end in 1279. The coins represent practically the entire Song period (960-1279).

The *nien-hao* (regnal years) occurring in the legends of 18 of the 20 coins have been satisfactorily identified. Those occurring on the remaining two are too indistinct to allow such an identification. As the Chinese copper coins with square holes are more or less well known I have not thought it fit to give their photographic reproductions. An approximate idea of the weights of the coins may be made by referring to the weights given by Dr. Aiyappan. The serial numbers of his list and those of the following list are the same.

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------|
| [15, 16, 17] | 開元 K'ai-yuan—713-742 A.D. |
| [12] | 祥符 Siang-fu—1008-1016 A.D. |
| [14] | 景祐 King-yu—1034 A.D. |
| [13] | 治平 Che-p'ing—1064-1067 A.D. |
| [20] | 熙寧 Hi-ning—1068-1077 A.D. |
| [2, 9, 16] | 元豐 Yuan-fong—1078-1085 A.D. |

- | | |
|---------|------------------------------|
| [3, 11] | 元 祐 Yuan-yu—1086-1093 A.D. |
| [1, 5] | 政 和 Cheng-ho—1111-1118 A.D. |
| [10] | 建 炎 Kien-yen—1127-1130 A.D. |
| [4] | 興 紹 Shao-hing—1131-1162 A.D. |
| [18] | 嘉 熙 Kia-hi—1237-1241 A.D. |
| [7] | 祐 淳 Shun-yu—1241-1251 A.D. |

Sino-Indian Relations—
The Period of the United Empires
(618-1100 A.D.)

The accession of the T'ang dynasty in 618 A.D. marks a new era in the history of China. It may be compared in glory and majesty only with the period of the great Han rulers. It is characterised by progress in all aspects of Chinese life, political, intellectual, religious and artistic. So far as Buddhism is concerned it was a period of assimilation and new creation of the Chinese genius. The Chinese, with the restoration of their distinctive political and social life and the revival of their literary traditions began to see what use they could make of this foreign religion in building up their national life which had been so much disturbed since the fall of the Hans. This led to the creation of a Buddhist civilisation in China which was much more than a mere copy of the Indian Buddhism.

The founder of the T'ang dynasty, Li-yuan who belonged to a nobility of ancient descent, took advantage of the weakness of the Sui rulers and with the help of his able son Li She-min seized the throne in 617 A.D. Ch'ang-ngan, the capital of the Sui, was occupied and Li-yuan was declared Emperor in 618. Li-yuan is better known in history under his posthumous name, Kao-tsu. The dynasty founded by him continued to reign till 907 A.D.

Kao-tsu was succeeded in 627 A.D. by his son Li She-min who is commonly known in history as T'ai-tsong. T'ai-tsong reigned till 649 A.D. He was one of the ablest rulers of the dynasty. He restored to China her former political glory. China was still under the menace of Turkish invasion from the West and the North. This induced him to extend the sphere of China's political influence beyond the natural boundary of the country and establish friendly relations with distant lands. The Turks were won over either through military defeats or diplomacy. The supremacy was once again founded in different parts of Eastern Turkestan viz. Kucha, Karasahr, Khotan, Kashgar and Yarkand. Friendly relations were established with

Samarkand, Bokhara and Kashmir. Tibet had risen into political eminence in this period. So an alliance was made with Tibet and it was cemented through the marriage of a Chinese Princess named Wen Ch'eng with king Srong-btsan Sgam-po.

The successor of T'ai-tsong, Kao-tsong (650-683) somehow retained authority over the conquered territories. He also annexed Corea to the Chinese Empire. His widow, Wu Tsö-t'ien succeeded to the throne in 684 and reigned till 705. She was a very able ruler. She put down effectively the political troubles in Eastern Turkestan. The Emperor Hiuan-tsong succeeded to the throne in 712 and enjoyed a long reign till 755. He was as great a ruler as T'ai-tsong. He put down the political unrest in various parts of Central Asia and restored the political supremacy of China over those territories. He established political relations with the neighbouring kingdoms. After the death of Hiuan-tsong a political decadence started which ultimately led to the downfall of the T'ang dynasty.

Although relations with India remained uninterrupted during the T'ang period, the attitude of the Confucian literatti towards Buddhism was not at all favourable. The T'ang Emperors, anxious to restore the former greatness of the nation, was often induced to adopt harsh measures against Buddhism. A leader of this campaign against Buddhism, Fu-yi (555-639) had a great influence in the court. He was one of the deadliest antagonists of Buddhism. He submitted a vigorous anti-Buddhist memorial in 624 to the Emperor Kao-tsu. He said in his memorial—

“Buddhism infiltrated into China from the Tarim under a strange and barbarous form, and as such it was then less dangerous. But since the Han period the Indian texts began to be translated into Chinese. Their publicity began to adversely affect the faith of the Princes and filial piety began to degenerate. The people began to shave their heads and to refuse to bow their heads to the Princes and their parents. They began to roam and beg and became monks in order to evade the public duties. They studied the three *pāramitās* and the *gatis* and refused to pay respect to others on the pretext of strict observance of their religion and the work for higher perfection. Ever since they began to honour this foreign sage (Buddha) the country has been a prey to barbarian invasion. Real

rulers disappeared, ministers became traitors, the Government became tyrannic and the sacrifices became neglected...The result is that the monks and the nuns now count by tens of thousands. I request to get them married so that the country may have a hundred thousand families. They will thus bring up children to fill the ranks of your army."

Fu-yi's campaign led to the persecution of Buddhism in 626 and 631 A.D. when an imperial decree was passed ordering the Buddhists to bow to their parents according to the Chinese usage. Although T'ai-tsung began his reign by persecuting the Buddhists his attitude towards them gradually changed in spite of the life-long anti-Buddhist campaign of Fu-yi. This change in the attitude of the Emperor was not a little actuated by political considerations. Turks had been converted to Buddhism. Buddhism was prosperous in various parts of Eastern Turkestan and also in the neighbouring kingdoms of Samarkand, Bokhara and Kashmir. The growing kingdom of Tibet was culturally linked with India.

The Confucian campaign however continued unabated throughout the T'ang period. Another important leader of the campaign was Han-yu (763-824). He submitted in 818 A.D. a memorial to the Emperor couched in the following words: "When the Emperor Kao-tsu succeeded the Sui, he thought of exterminating Buddhism. But the ministers who surrounded him were narrow-minded and little grounded in our national traditions. His project, therefore, could not be carried out.....when you ascended the throne you began by forbidding the conversion of new followers to Buddhism and the erection of new monasteries. But your orders were not carried out... you have now permitted the Buddhists to bring in procession a bone of Buddha! I suppose you do not believe in their stories." The Emperor Hien-tsung (806-820) was sympathetic towards the Buddhists. Han-yu was disgraced.

The Taoists also joined the Confucian literati in leading the campaign against Buddhism. As a result of their campaign an Imperial decree was passed in 845 A.D. for the laicisation of the Buddhist monasteries. But the Emperor Yi-tsung (860-873) who was an ardent Buddhist rescinded the order.

The anti-Buddhist campaign on the whole was not successful in

having the desired effect. Buddhism was too firmly rooted in China to be weeded out.

The enlightened policy of Emperor T'ai-tsong brought China in closer touch with India. This was accelerated by the visit of the famous pilgrim Hiuan-tsang to India. Hiuan-tsang started from Ch'ang-ngan in 629 without the permission of the Emperor. On account of the uncertain political condition of Central Asia the Chinese subjects were discouraged to undertake any journey to the west. But Hiuan-tsang, who was a fervent Buddhist, was bent upon going to India and made all his preparations in secret. During his long stay in India he had seen and known India more than any other Chinese traveller, collected valuable information on the country and established personal contact with Emperor Harṣa and a number of smaller kings of India. His importance was not overlooked by the Emperor and so when Hiuan-tsang arrived at Ch'ang-ngan in 645 he was well received by the Emperor. "Never in the history of China did a Buddhist monk receive such a joyous ovation as that with which our pilgrim was welcomed. The Emperor and his court, the officials and merchants, and all the people made holiday. The streets were crowded with eager men and women who expressed their joy by gay banners and festive music." The Emperor pardoned the pilgrim for not taking his permission while leaving the country, received him in an inner chamber of the palace and listened there from day to day to his account of the foreign lands. Henceforth the pilgrim began to exercise a great influence on the Emperor. This explains the new Imperial policy towards India which consisted in the frequent exchange of embassies between China and different parts of India. This policy was carefully followed by the successors of T'ai-tsong till about the middle of the 8th century A.D.

In 643 the Emperor sent Li Yi-pao as ambassador to king Harṣa of Kanauj. This was in return for a mission which Harṣa had sent to the Chinese Emperor with presents. Hiuan-tsang was in Kanauj in 636 and the friendship which he contracted with Harṣa must have induced the latter to send a mission to the Emperor of China with presents. Li Yi-pao was ordered by the Emperor to accompany the Indian envoy on his way back and to carry a letter from the Emperor to Harṣa. Li Yi-pao was accompanied by another Chinese official

named Wang Hiuen-ts'ö. Thy reached Magadha after a journey of nine months. On the completion of their official mission Li Yi-pao and Wang Hiuan-ts'ö visited a number of Buddhist holy places such as Rājagṛha, Ġṛdhṛakūṭa and Mahābodhi. They had two Chinese votive inscriptions engraved in 643 on the Ġṛdhṛakūṭa and the Mahābodhi temple. The original stones have not been discovered. The Chinese ambassadors returned to their country either towards the end of 646 A.D. or the beginning of 647 A.D.

The very same year (647) Wang Hiuan-ts'ö was entrusted with a second Imperial mission to Magadha. On his arrival at the capital of Harṣa, Wang Hiuan-ts'ö found that Harṣa had died and that his minister A-la-na-shuen (Aruṇāśva?), the king of Tīrabhukti, had usurped the throne. The Chinese mission was not well received by the usurper, its escorts were murdered and the treasures plundered. Wang Hiuan-ts'ö saved his life by escaping overnight and fleeing to Nepal which was allied with China through Tibet. Wang Hiuan-ts'ö then secured military help from Nepal and Tibet, marched on Magadha, defeated the usurper, and took him a prisoner to Ch'anggan in 648. Wang Hiuan-ts'ö this time returned to China by the route of Nepal and Tibet. The Indian usurper, Aruṇāśva (?) remained in China till his death and was given posthumous honours. His statue was set up by the side of the statues of king Srong-btsan Sgam-po and those of the kings of Kucha, Turfan etc. The statue was placed on the avenue leading to the tomb of Emperor T'ai-tsong. Wang Hiuan-ts'ö this time brought with him a Brahmin named Nārāyaṇasvāmin, who is said to have been a specialist in the drugs that give long life. This was because the Emperors of China as well as the eminent people of the country, through the influence of Taoism, had a craze for the research for long life. T'ai-tsong at first placed confidence in the Brahmin but the latter failed to give long life to the Emperor who died in 649 A.D. The new Emperor had no more any interest in Nārāyaṇasvāmin, who asked Wang Hiuan-ts'ö to take back the Brahmin to his native country.

Wang Hiuan-ts'ö started on his third journey to India in 657 A.D. He was also entrusted with presents of *kaśāya* to be carried to Buddhist sacred places in India. This time also he passed by Tibet and Nepal. He visited Kapiśā and reached the Mahābodhi temple

on the 5th November, 660. He set up another votive inscription in the Mahābodhi temple. He returned to the capital of China in March 661. He completed his account of India about this time. The work which is now lost contained 10 chapters of account and 3 chapters of illustrations.

Wang Hiuan-ts'ö was most probably sent to India for the fourth time in 664 to bring back from India a Chinese monk named Hiuan-chao whom he had met in India during his last visit. This time also he passed by Tibet and Nepal. He must have come back in 665 as it was then that an image of Bodhisattva which had been made after a model brought from India by Wang Hiuan-ts'ö was set up in the principal hall of the *Ki-ngai-sse*, a temple situated near the palace. Wang Hiuan-ts'ö himself directed the execution of the image.

The T'ang history has preserved systematic account of the political relations that were established in this period between China and different parts of India viz. Ceylon, Kashmir, Baltistan, Kapiśā, Uḍḍiyāna (Swat valley), Gandhāra, and kingdoms in the West, East, North, South and Central India.

It is reported that a king of Ceylon sent in 670 A.D. presents to the Emperor Kao-tsung. In 711 a king of Ceylon sent an embassy to the Emperor Jui-tsung with presents. In 742 a king of Ceylon sent presents of pearls, ivory etc. on two occasions through ambassadors to Emperor Hiuan-tsung. In 746 he sent through the famous Buddhist scholar Amoghavajra, who was then going to China, a palm-leaf copy of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā* as present to the Emperor. Presents were again sent in 750 from Ceylon and in 762 an ambassador was sent from Ceylon to the Emperor Su-tsung.

Baltistan and Kashmir in a way bordered on the Chinese Empire. The Chinese Emperors claimed a sort of suzerainty over those kingdoms although we do not know how far the actual political relations justified that claim. The Chinese official history gives the following account of China's political relations with those countries. [Baltistan]—In 717 (5th month) the Emperor awarded the title of "king of Pu-lu (Bolor)" to the local chief—*Su-fu-shö-li-che-li-ni* (Śubhāśrī). In 719 (7th month) the king of Bolor Śubhāśrī sent an ambassador to the Emperor to express his gratitude for the award. In 720 (10th month)

the title of "the king of Bolor" was awarded by the Emperor to the local chief *Su-lin-t'o-yi-che* (Surendrāditya). In 731 (4th month) the title of "the king of little Bolor (Yasin)" was awarded to *Nan-ni* by the Emperor. In 733 (3rd month) the king of (little) Bolor *Mo-kin-mang* sent a noble named *Cha-cho-na-se-mo-mo-sheng* to thank the Emperor for the award. In 741 the king of little Bolor sent again an ambassador to China. In 745 (7th month) the king of little Bolor sent a Buddhist teacher named *Kia-lo-mi-to* (Kālamitra) to pay respects to the Emperor. [Kashmir]—In 720 (8th month) the Emperor awarded the title of the "king of Kashmir" to *Chen-t'o-lo-pi-li* (Candrāpīḍa). Official correspondence was exchanged between China and Kashmir again in 724. In 733 (3rd month) the king of Kashmir *Mu-to-pi* (Muktāpīḍa) sent a Buddhist priest named *Wu-li-to-nien* with presents to the Emperor. The priest was received by the Emperor in a banquet and sent back with presents. The same year (4th month) the Emperor awarded the title of the "king of Kashmir" to Muktāpīḍa.

The political condition of Kapiśā, Gandhāra and Uḍḍiyāna was uncertain in this period. The two latter kingdoms were certainly dependent on Kashmir. We know from the Chinese official history that in 720 (4th month) the title of the "king of Wu-ch'ang (Uḍḍiyāna)" was given to the local chief by the Emperor. The king of Gandhāra sent an ambassador to China in 758 (5th month) with presents to the Emperor. The title of "tegin" was awarded to the chief of Kapiśā in 720 (9th month). Official relations between Kapiśā and China were resumed in 738 and 758 (6th month).

So far we have discussed the notices on the relations of China with the frontier kingdoms of India. But official connection was not uncommon with other parts of India as well. As early as 692 (3rd month) a representative of King *Ti-po-si-na* (Devasena) of Central India came to pay respects to the Emperor. The envoy must have been the same as Brahma (Fan-mo) who assisted Bodhiruci in 693 in the work of translation. In 741 the son of the king of Central India came to pay respects and he was given a Chinese name *Li Ch'eng-ngan*. In 731 (10th month) the king of Central India *Yi-sha-fu-mo* (Yaśovarman) sent his minister, the Buddhist monk *Pu-ta-sin* (Buddhasena) to pay homage. We know that Yaśovarman was the

King at Kanauj. He was in constant war with the King of Kashmir and it is probable that he had appealed to the Emperor for intervention.

In 692 (3rd month) representatives of the King of Eastern India *Mo-lo-pa-mo* (Mālavarman?) and the King of Western India, *Sha-lo-yi-to* (Śilāditya) came to China to pay homage. We do not know who Mālavarman was but the other King was certainly Śilāditya III of Valabhī who reigned in the end of the 7th century. In 692 the King of Southern India, *Che-lu-ki-pa-lo* (Chālukya...) sent an ambassador to the Emperor. Official relations were resumed with South India in 719 and in 720 (8th month), the King *Sha-li Na-lo-seng-kia-pa-to-pa-mo* (Śrī Narasiṃha Potavarman) proposed to the Emperor to send elephants and cavalry to fight with the Arabs and the Tibetans. The Chālukya king who was reigning in 692 must have been the son of Pulakeśin II. Narasiṃha Potavarman was the Pallava ruler of Kanchi.

These scrappy notices show that for nearly one hundred years (643-758 A.D.) China tried to maintain regular political relations with different parts of India. The last great ruler of the T'ang dynasty, Hsuan-tsung died in 755; the political condition of Eastern Turkestan became uncertain and China lost her hold on the kingdoms in that region on account of the encroachment of the Arabs and the Tibetans. The promised help of Narasiṃha Potavarman was not enough to check the Arab advance towards India and the Chinese frontier. This was responsible for the cessation of the political relations between India and China since the middle of the 8th century A.D.

The cultural relations between India and China, continued as before. This was mainly carried out since the beginning of the T'ang by the innumerable Chinese and Indian monks who defied all barriers, either natural or artificial, in order to contribute to the progress of the Law. The Indian Buddhist scholars kept on coming to China by the land and sea routes throughout the T'ang period. The names of at least 20 principal translators have been preserved in the Chinese accounts.

One of the principal Indian translators was Prabhākaramitra. He was born in a royal family of Central India. He left the house at the age of ten and took up Buddhistic studies under able teachers. He made so much progress in course of a few years that he could

easily recite hundred thousand gāthās of the Mahāyānasūtras. He was then given *upasampadā* and took up the study of the Vinaya. He was however of a meditative temperament and began to practise *samādhi* under the direction of great teachers. He settled in the monastery of Nālandā. He studied the *sāstras* with famous Śīlabhadra and soon showed great aptitude in the study of Abhidharma. He was at last appointed a teacher of Abhidharma at Nālandā. He had soon a number of disciples who later on became famous teachers in India.

Prabhākaramitra had a great desire to travel in foreign lands. He heard that the "Northern Barbarians" (Tibetans?) had not yet been converted to Buddhism. He started for the Northern countries with ten disciples. Travelling towards the north by stages he reached the camp of the chief of the Western Turks (Yabghu Kagan). He took the opportunity of explaining the Buddhist law to him. The Kagan felt interested in this foreign religion and at last accepted it.

On the invitation of the Chinese ambassador at the court of the Turks in 626 Prabhākara decided to go to China. But the Kagan would not leave him. Afterwards at the request of the Emperor of China, Prabhākara was allowed to start for China. He reached the capital towards the end of the year 627. He settled in the monastery of *Hing shen sse*. The Emperor was very much attracted by his intelligence and scholarship. He requested Prabhākara to translate in 629 three texts into Sanskrit, the most important amongst them being the *Mahāyāna Sūtrālamkāra-sāstra* of Asaṅga.

The Confucian literati however could not tolerate the great respect and admiration which the Emperor showed towards Prabhākara. They carried on a vehement propaganda against him before the Emperor which had its effect. The Emperor soon ceased to take any interest in him. Prabhākara had no more enthusiasm for work and died in 633 at the age of 69.

Another great Indian teacher who went to China in the T'ang period was Bodhiruci. He was a Buddhist monk of Southern India. He left his family at the age of twelve and at first joined the Brahmanical school of Parāśara. He studied all the literature of this school and specialised in *Sāṅkhyā*, *Śabda-vidyā* and other sciences such as, astronomy, astrology, mathematics, medicine etc. He then went out in the world in order to discuss religious matters with

Buddhist scholars. There was at that time a Mahāyāna Sthavira named Yaśaghoṣa. While carrying on religious discussion with the latter Bodhiruci was greatly impressed by the superiority of the Buddhist religion. He adopted the Buddhist faith and began the study of the Buddhist literature.

The Chinese envoy Po-yun, most probably came to the Chālukya king who had sent an ambassador to China in 692 to return the compliments paid to the Emperor. He requested Bodhiruci to go to China. Bodhiruci reached China in 693. The very same year Bodhiruci translated the *Ratnamegha-sūtra* in the monastery of *Fo-shou-ki*. Śramaṇa Brahma (*Fan-mo*) the envoy of the king of Central India, took part in the explanation of the Sanskrit text. The Śramaṇa Canda (*Chan-t'o*) and Brāhmaṇa Li-wu-ch'an translated the words. The Chinese monk Hui-che verified the translation. Ch'u-yi and others took down the translation, Sse-hiuan and others put it in good style and Yuan-ts'ie, Chen-ying and others controlled the meaning. Thus a full-fledged board was set up to help Bodhiruci in his work. Bodhiruci translated 19 texts during his stay in the *Ta chou tong sse* and the *Fo-shou ki sse*.

Bodhiruci came to the capital in 706 with Emperor Ho-ti. He stayed in the monastery of *Si-chong fu sse* where he translated the most important and voluminous Mahāyāna sūtra, the *Ratnakūṭa*. Hiuan-tsang had brought a copy of this work from India and began to translate it. Bodhiruci had brought a copy of the *Ratnakūṭa* with him. So the Emperor Ho-ti requested him to continue the work started by Hiuan-tsang. The portions already translated were collected and revised. Bodhiruci translated the remaining portions of the text. The work was begun in 706 and completed in 713. The translation was begun in the Fo-kuang palace, and the Emperor came in person to copy the explanation of the text. It was an unique occasion in which all the great functionaries, the queens, and other women of the palace, were all present. The Emperor Jui-tsang who ascended the throne in 710 A.D. continued to take personal interest in the work till it was completed.

The board set up for this memorable work was constituted as follows, Īśvara, a chief of Eastern India who was then at the Chinese capital, and a few others rendered the Sanskrit words into

Chinese, Dharma, a Buddhist monk of Northern India, Prajñāgupta of Southern India and a number of other monks explained the meaning of the original text, the Chinese monks, Hui-kio, Tsong-yi, P'u-kin, Liu-fang and others took down the translation, Sheng-cheng, Fa-tsang, Ch'en-wai, Wu-chö, Shen-leang, Huai-ti and others discussed the meaning of the text, Ch'eng-li, Shen-kien, Yun-kuang and others put it good style. The nobles of the court were present at the time of the work. Emperor Jui-tsung wrote a preface.

Bodhiruci translated 53 volumes consisting of 111 Chapters. The translation of the *Ratnakūṭa* was his last work. After the completion of this work he devoted all his energy to the practice of dhyāna. He was at this time more than 100 years old. In 724 he accompanied the Emperor to Lo-yang where he stayed in the monastery of Ch'ang-shou-sse (since then called *K'ai-yuan-sse*). He died in this monastery in 727 A.D. On seeing that his end was approaching he told his disciples: "My body is getting gradually weaker like the drops of water that evaporate. Although I have lived long I feel that my end is approaching. So long I have been taking food in order to remove weakness. Now that I have reached the end what is the good of prolonging my life." So saying he took to fasting which lasted for 55 days. He then asked his disciples to leave him alone. "I need an atmosphere of tranquility. Don't make any noise." He then quietly passed away at the age of 156.

Another great Buddhist scholar who went to China in this period was Śubhākarasimha. He claimed descent from Amṛtodana, the uncle of Śākyamuni. He was at first in the monastery of Nālandā where he studied the various branches of the Buddhist literature. He was desirous of preaching the law in foreign countries and undertook a hazardous journey. He at first went to the country of the "Eastern Barbarians" (Turks?). Subsequently at the request of the Emperor he went to China. He reached Ch'ang-ngan in 716 A.D., with a large collection of Sanskrit manuscripts which he presented to the Emperor. Śubhākara put up in the monastery of *Si-ming*. Śubhākara went to Lo-yang with the Emperor in 724. It was at this time that he translated 5 works into Chinese. He died in 735 A.D. at the age of 99 and was buried in the mountain in the west of Long-men. Although he did not translate many works into

Chinese his reputation as teacher was very great in China. He introduced a special school of mysticism in China.

The last great Indian teachers to be in China were probably Vajrabodhi and his disciple Amoghavajra. Both of them were great personalities both at home and in China. They firmly established the mystic school of Vajrayāna in China. Vajrabodhi was the third son of Īśānavarman, the king of Central India. He left the house at the age of 10 and joined Nālandā for his studies. He was at Nālandā for five years. He then went to Western India where he stayed four years for his studies. He came back to Nālandā where he continued his studies for six years more. He then went to South India where he most probably became the teacher of king Narasimha Potavarman of Kāñcī. He then went to Ceylon and subsequently accompanied the Ceylonese mission to the Chinese Emperor. The mission was to present to the Emperor a copy of the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*, precious objects, perfumes etc. He reached Canton in 720 A.D. In China he made a number of disciples, amongst whom the most famous were Amoghavajra and Yi-hing. He translated 11 Vajrayāna works between 723 and 730 A.D. The propagation of his mystic doctrines was entirely successful. Many studied them in the two capitals of China and the Buddhist laymen and monks did not escape the influence of the new doctrines. Vajrabodhi died at Lo-yang in 732 A.D.

The principal disciple of Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, was commonly known in China under his Chinese name Pu-k'ong. He belonged to a Brahmanical family settled in Ceylon. He was converted to Buddhism by Vajrabodhi at the age of 15. He accompanied his teacher to China. He studied the *Siddham* and the *Śabdaśāstra* with his teacher and was initiated by the latter into mystic practices. He reached Lo-yang with Vajrabodhi in 724 and stayed in the temple of Kuang-fu. He worked there till 731 when he was asked by Vajrabodhi to go back to India and make a collection of Sanskrit texts. Vajrabodhi died in 732. Amoghavajra left China in 736 and after a year of difficult voyage came to Ceylon. He stayed in *Dantavihāra* of Ceylon for three years studying the mystic doctrines of five different schools. It was at this time that he was entrusted by the King of Ceylon to carry presents of Sanskrit texts to the Emperor of China.

He returned to China in 746. Since then up to his death in 774 he worked incessantly and translated 119 works into Chinese. He wrote to the Emperor in 771—"From my childhood I followed my teacher Vajrabodhi for 14 years (719-732) and was initiated by him in the practice of yoga. I then went to India and made a collection 500 texts which I brought back to China. I returned to China in 746. Since then up till now I have translated 77 texts consisting of 120 Chapters."

The account of these great Indian teachers who had gone to China shows the great effort which the Indian scholars were making in propagating Buddhist literature in the T'ang period. All of them received from the Chinese Emperors and people, the respect they deserved and were given facilities for their work in China. We get the names of at least 21 Indian or Indianised foreign teachers who translated a large number of Buddhist texts into Chinese :

1. Prabhākaramitra of Nālandā (627-633) ... 3
2. Bhagavaddharma (?) of Western India ... 2
3. Atigupta of Central India (652-654) ... 1
4. Nandī of Central India (655-663) ... 3
5. Jñānabhadra of Java (664-676) ... 1
6. Divākara of Central India (676-685) ... 19
7. Buddhatrāta of Kapiśā (?) ... 1
8. Buddhapāla of Kapiśā (683) ... 1
9. Devaprajña of Khotan (589-691) ... 7
10. Śikṣānanda of Khotan (695-710) ... 24
11. Mitraśama of Tukhāra (705) ... 1
12. Ādisena (?) of Kāśmīra (693-721) ... 9
13. Bodhiruci of South India (693-727) ... 35
14. Parāmiti (?) of India (705) ... 1
15. Vajrabodhi of Central India (720-732) ... 26
16. Śubhākarasimha of Magadha (716-735) ... 21
17. Utpalavīrya (?) of Kucha (790) ... 3
18. Dharmacandra of Eastern India (730-743) ... 1
19. Ajitasena of Northern India (732) ... 3
20. Amoghavajra (720-771) ... 177
21. Prajñā of Kapiśā (781-810) ... 8

But the Indian scholars were not alone. The help they received from their Chinese collaborators was not insignificant. But for their sympathy and active help the colossal work done in this period could not have been accomplished. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrims and scholars not only took part in the work of translation but also helped their countrymen to know India and Indian culture better. The pioneer in this task was the famous pilgrim Hiuan-tsang, whom we have already mentioned more than once.

Hiuan-tsang was a devout Buddhist. In his travels he "cared little for other things and wanted to know only Buddha and Buddhism. His perfect faith in these, his devotion to them, and his enthusiasm for them were remarkable to his contemporaries." He like all other Buddhists of his times followed a syncretic type of Buddhism. He was very rigorous in keeping the rules of his order according to the Vinaya principles. He was a staunch follower of the Yogācāra School of Mahāyāna but he also believed in the efficacy of magical formulæ, invocations and worship of the Mahāyāna deities.

He had visited almost all parts of India, lived in the principal monasteries of the land and established personal contact with the great personalities. His principal teacher in India was Śīlabhadra, the great abbot of the Nālandā monastery. He made a deep study of the Yogācāra philosophy with him. The personal friendship which he had contracted with scholars in India is best exhibited in the following correspondence which passed between him and some teachers at Mahābodhi after his return to China. In 654 a monk of the Mahābodhi temple was sent to China with the following letter to Hiuan-tsang. The letter was written by Sthavira Prajñādeva (Hui-t'ien) "who knew well the doctrines of the 18 Schools of Hīnayāna."

"The Sthavira Prajñādeva who is surrounded by men of great knowledge in the temple of Mahābodhi near the Vajrāsana of the of the Bhagavat sends this letter to Mokṣacārya [=Hiuan-tsang] of Mahācīna, who knows well and have penetrated well into the Sūtra, Vinaya and numerous Śāstras. He respectfully wishes him to be ever free from illness and pain. I Bhikṣu Prajñādeva, have now composed an eulogy of the great divine transformations of Buddha (=trikāya?) and a comparative study of the Sūtras and Śāstras etc. I hand them over Bhikṣu Fa-ch'eng who will carry them to

you. Amongst us the Ācārya has numerous acquaintances and one of them, Venerable Jñānaprabha (Che-kuang) joins me in enquiring about you. The Upāsakas always continue to offer their salutations to you. We all send you a pair of white clothes to show that we are not forgetful. The road is long. Do not mind the smallness of the present. We wish you may accept it. As regards the Sūtras, and Śāstras which you may require please send us a list, we will copy them and send them to you. This is all, Mokṣācārya, that we want to let you know."

Hiuan-tsang sent the following reply—"I learnt from an ambassador who recently came back from India that the great teacher Śilabhadra was no more. This news overwhelmed me with a grief which knew no end. Alas! the boat on the ocean of suffering has sunk, the eye of men and gods is shut. How can I express the sorrow that his death has caused us. When Buddha passed away Kāśyapa continued and enlarged his noble work. When Sānavāsa died Upagupta continued to preach his fine doctrines. Now that a general of the Law has gone back to his own place may the teachers of the law acquit themselves of their task. My only desire is that the pure explanations and subtle discussions may extend in large waves like those of the vast ocean, that the blessed knowledge and the glory of the law may be eternal like the five mountains. Amongst the Sūtras and Śāstras that I, Hiuan-tsang, had brought with me, I have already translated the *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra* and others in all 30 volumes, large and small...I should humbly let you know that while crossing the Sindhu I had lost a load of sacred texts. I now send you a list annexed to this letter. I should request you to send them to me if you get the chance—I am sending some small objects as present. Please accept them."

The copies of these letters, preserved in a solitary corner of the Chinese Buddhist collection, bear testimony to the personal relationship that was established by Hiuan-tsang with his Indian friends. His example was followed by other Chinese pilgrims of the T'ang period, Wang Hian-ts'ö, Hiuan-chao, Yi-tsing and others. But Hiuan-tsang contributed even more to a better understanding of Indian Buddhism. After Kumārajīva he was certainly the most able translator of Sanskrit texts. He possessed a profound knowledge of

Sanskrit and did not require the help of any interpreter. Seventy-six works are attributed to him, some of them are voluminous. The 76 works consisted of about 1250 chapters, amongst which were, the whole of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā* in 600 chapters and the *Yogācāra-bhūmi-sāstra* in 200 chapters. Hiuan-tsang was a great scholar of Buddhist philosophy and so he translated first the fundamental works of the Mahāyāna philosophy as well as the Abhidharma works of the Sarvāstivāda school which represented the Hīnayāna philosophy. He also translated a work of the *Vaiśeṣika* philosophy—the *Daśapadārtha-śāstra* which was of great value for the study of the Yogācāra philosophy. All his translations bear the stamp of his deep scholarship.

His personal work, the *Ta t'ang si yu ki*—“The Memoirs of the Western World of the great T'ang period” is by far the best account of the foreign lands in Chinese. All previous accounts were either scrappy or one sided. For example from the account of Fa-hien practically nothing can be learnt about the political and social conditions prevailing in Eastern Turkestan and India. But Hiuan-tsang's account is a creditable performance from various points of view. Although he places greater emphasis on Buddhism he does not ignore the Indian life in general. He gives an account of the political condition, learning, society etc. of all the countries he visited. Even on Buddhism we know much more from his work than from the works of others. His account of the condition of Buddhism in India is of great value for the history of Buddhism in general.

Hiuan-tsang's influence was exercised in all fields of Buddhist studies. Amongst his disciples Tao-siuan became a great exponent of the Vinaya principles and the Vinaya school which flourished in China and Japan regarded him as the founder. The *Kōśa* school which was based on the Abhidharma literature translated by Hiuan-tsang and which flourished in Japan also goes back to him. The Chinese and Japanese disciples of Hiuan-tsang were responsible for the foundation of the school. Another important school, the Yogācāra, called Hosso in Japan, was founded by one of his great disciples, Kui-ki and was based on the Yogācāra works translated by Hiuan-tsang. Many other Buddhist writers of the T'ang period drew their inspiration from Hiuan-tsang.

The example of Hiuan-tsang aroused in the heart of many a pious Buddhist in China a longing for visiting India. Wang Hiuan-ts'ö who visited India four times (643-663), although sent on official mission, did not fail to visit the principal places of Buddhist pilgrimage in India. He set up votive tablets at Bodhgayā and on the Gṛdhrakūṭa as an act of piety and took drawings of images to guide the artists of his own country.

Yi-tsing has given short accounts of 60 Buddhist monks who had been to India during the 2nd half of the 7th century A.D. These monks had come to India either by the sea-route or the land-route. Some of them did not go back to their native country and remained in India till their death. One of them, Hiuan-chao was educated in the *Ta hing sheng sse*, the place where Hiuan-tsang was residing, during the *Chen-kuan* period (627-650). We do not know exactly when he left for India but that was not before 650. On his way to India he visited Tokharestan, Sogdiana and other countries and then passed through Tibet which was then an ally of China. From Tibet he came to Jālandhara and after visiting different holy places at last came to Nālandā where he settled down for the study of the Yogācāra doctrines. Wang Hiuan-ts'ö met him in India at the time of his third visit and gave good report about him to the Emperor. The Emperor sent Wang Hiuan-ts'ö to take him back to China. He returned to China with Wang Hiuan-ts'ö. They passed by the route of Nepal and Tibet and completed the journey in 5 months. The Emperor received Hiuan-chao in audience. Emperor then ordered Hiuan-chao to escort a Brahmin named Lokāditya to Kashmir. This man is said to have known the medicine that could give long life and had gone to China on an invitation from the Emperor. On reaching the frontier of Kashmir Lokāditya met his own countrymen and left Hiuan-chao to follow the route to India. Lokāditya told him that the medicine which gives long life was available in Lāṭa country and advised him to go there. Hiuan-chao visited Balkh, Kapiśā, Sindhu and at last reached Lāṭa where he stayed for 4 years. He then passed to the South where he collected different kinds of medicine. Before starting for China he went to Bodhgayā and Nālandā. It was however impossible for him to go back to China, as Tibet had declared war on China and it was no longer possible to pass through Central Asia

where the Arabs were barring the way. Hiuan-chao died in India.

It is needless to give a more detailed account of all the 60 travellers who had been to India in this period. Some of them were Korean. But they all had the same pious zeal and came to India after overcoming many difficulties in the way, some of them not even caring to go back to their native land but to die in the holy land of Śākya-muni.

The last great Chinese pilgrim to come to India was Yi-tsing. He started from China by the sea route in 671 and after travelling in different parts of the South Sea Islands and in India went back to China in 695 A.D. In India he had been to Tāmralipti, Nālandā, Ḡḍhrakūṭa, Vaiśālī, Kuśinagara, Mṛgadāva etc. He spent 10 years at Nālandā in the study of Buddhist texts. When he returned to China he had with him a collection of 400 Buddhist manuscripts. He was not by temperament a philosopher like Hiuan-tsang his main interest being in Vinaya. As such his principal work was the study of the stupendous Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school which he translated into Chinese. His translation of this Vinaya consists of a little more than 163 Chapters, almost the three quarter of the works he translated into Chinese (230 Chapters). His personal work, the *Nan hai-che-kui-nei-fa-ch'uan* "A record of the Buddhist Practices sent from the Southern sea" is entirely based on the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*. He died in 713 A.D. From the nature of his work it is evident that he was not a scholar to impress his disciples and countrymen so deeply as his predecessor, Hiuan-tsang. He did not go deep in his study of Buddhist religion and was contented more with the study of its formal aspect. This is just what could be expected. When Yi-tsing came to Nālandā, the great Yogācāra professor Śīlabhadra the teacher of Hiuan-tsang was already dead and there was nobody to take his place. Mysticism was gradually ousting the healthy philosophical schools at Nālandā. In fact Yi-tsing translated a number of *dhāraṇīs* but his heart was not in it. He did not take up any of the fundamental texts of the Buddhist mystic schools.

The last Chinese pilgrim to India was Wu-k'ong. He was sent to Kapiśā in 751 by Emperor Hiuan-tsang on an official mission. He did not return to China before 790 A.D. He passed long years in

the monasteries of Khotan and Kucha. He did not visit any of the Buddhist holy places in India and came away from the frontier of India after visiting Kapiśā. The pious zeal of the earlier travellers no more inspired the Buddhists of this period and gradual worsening of the political condition of Central Asia on account of the Arab encroachment was already much interfering with the religious predilections of the travelling monks in this period. It is for this that the rest of the T'ang period appears as barren from the point of view of the Buddhist activities which were so long binding India and China together.

All through the T'ang period the Chinese Buddhist scholars took an active part in the work of translation. Numerous translations and also compilation works and commentaries are attributed to them. The following list will give a clear idea of their contribution in this respect :

1. Hiuan-wan	...	9
2. Hui-tsing	...	2
3. Fa-yun	...	2
4. Hiuan-tsang (645-664)	...	76
5. Hiuan-ying (649)	...	1
6. Hiuan-yun (656-660)	...	9
7. Hiuan-fan	...	2
8. Che-t'ong (653)	...	4
9. Tu Hing-yi (676-679)	...	1
10. Hui-li	...	1
11. Huai-su	...	4
12. Hui-che	...	1
13. Hiuan-yi	...	1
14. Yi-tsing (695-713)	...	71
15. She Ngai-t'ong	...	1
16. Hui-yuan (730)	...	1
17. She Che-yen (705-721)	...	4
18. She Hui-ti	...	1
19. She Yen-tsong	...	3
20. Fa-ts'iu	...	4
21. Yi-hing (683)	...	9
22. Shen-k'ai	...	1

23.	Hui-kuo (776-777)	...	1
24.	Kiong-sho (774)	...	1
25.	K'ong-ki	...	1
26.	Wu-ch'e	...	1
			<hr/>
			212 works

Besides these translations and compilations we get a large number of original works on Buddhism written by Chinese scholars during the T'ang period. The official list mentions 68 Chinese authors who had written about 70 works, either commentaries or original discussions on Buddhism. A certain number of Japanese and Corean monks also had come to China in this period for study under able Chinese and Indian teachers. They also wrote a number of works which have been preserved in the Chinese Buddhist collection.

In short the work for the better understanding and propagation of Buddhism during the T'ang period was colossal. The Buddhist scholars from India, Central Asia, the South Sea Islands, Cambodia, Corea and Japan, all ran to China to collaborate with the Chinese Buddhist scholars in this work. The Nālandā monastery in India and the principal monasteries of China served as the important seats of learning where flocked from all parts of the Eastern Asiatic continent pious Buddhists who were inspired by great ideals of the Buddhist civilisation.¹

P. C. Bagchi

¹ Some portions of this account have been used in my recent book—*India and China*. An exhaustive reference to the principal authorities on this subject will be found in that book.

Three Buddhist Hymns

*Restored into Sanskrit from Chinese Transliterations*¹

Introductory

The Chinese Tripiṭaka includes Indian works in Chinese translation and works by Chinese authors. In both of these are found scattered proper names and technical terms transliterated in Chinese characters. Apart from such transliterated single words and phrases, there exists a large number of entire passages and texts in transliteration, consisting mostly of dhāraṇīs² and also of some Sanskrit stotras (梵讚). We are concerned here with the last mentioned only.

The restoration of lost Sanskrit texts from Chinese transliterations had been first taken up by the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi of Paris, who had restored the *Aṣṭamahācaityavandanam* in 1894,³ and the *Tri-kāya-stava* in 1896,⁴ both from the transliterations made by Dharmabhadra (Fa-hien 982-1001 A.D.). The former has been re-examined by Dr. P. C. Bagchi of the Calcutta University, in "The Eight Great Caityas and their Cult," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XVII, pp. 232-235.

1 I started this work with my friend Pandit Prahlad Pradhan M.A. (Patna) in Santiniketan, continued and completed it under the guidance of Dr. V. V. Gokhale of the Fergusson College, Poona. I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of obligation to them.

2 The *Han man mong tsang ssu-t'i ho pei ta tsand ts'uan chou* (漢滿蒙藏四體合璧大藏全呪) in 80 vols. is a fairly complete collection of such transliterated dhāraṇīs. See Walter Fuchs, *Zum mandjurischen Kanjur, Asia Major*, VI, pp. 388-402; A. von Staël-Holstein, *On a Peking, a St. Petersburg and a Tokyo reconstruction of a Sanskrit Stanza in the Ts'ai yuan p'ei* (蔡元培) *Anniversary volume*.

3 *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*, pp. 242-256; *Actes du 10e Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes*, 2e parties, Section I: Inde, pp. 189-203.

4 E. Chavannes—*Les Inscriptions de Bodhgayā, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, XXXIV, 1896.

With the help of the Tibetan translations, late Baron A. von Stäel-Holstein had further restored four stotras into Sanskrit, from their Chinese transliterations made by Dharmadeva (Fa-t'ien, 973-981 A.D.), viz. *Gaṇḍī-stotra*, *Sapta-jinaṣṭava*, *Ārya-mañjuśrī-nāmāṣṭaśataka* in Kien-ch'ui-fan-tsan, *Bibliotheca Buddhica* XV; *Āryāvalokiteśvara-stotra* in Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies, Vol. XVII, "On Two Recent Reconstructions of a Sanskrit Hymn etc.". The *Gaṇḍī-stotra* particularly, has been reviewed and revised by Prof. F. W. Thomas⁵ and the late Prof. E. J. Johnston⁶ of Oxford.

Stäel-Holstein has compared Dharmadeva's Sanskrit-Chinese transliterations with the ancient Chinese pronunciation of 660 A.D. (as reconstructed by Prof. Bernhard Karlgren of Götberg, Sweden), in "The Phonetic Transcription of Sanskrit Works and Ancient Chinese Pronunciation."⁷ T'ien-si-tsai, Dharmadeva (Fa-t'ien, also known as Dharmabhadra, Fa-hien), and She-hu (Dānapala?) in the tenth century A.D. formed the second school in the history of Chinese Buddhism in China, the first being that of Śubhākarasimha (Shen wu wei), Vajrabodhi (Kin-kang che) and Amoghavajra (P'u-k'ong), who were the founders of the Tantrik Buddhism in China.⁸

5 A New Poem of Aśvaghōṣa, J. R. A. S., London 1914.

6 The Gaṇḍistotra, Indian Antiquary, LXII, 1933.

7 S. Elisseeff—Stael-Holstein's Contribution to Asiatic Studies, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* III.

8 See Nanjio's *Catalogue*, Appendix II; *Hobogirin*: fascicule annexe, Table des auteurs et traducteurs; Bagchi-*Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, Tomes I, II; Chavannes-Les inscriptions Chinoises de Bodhgayā. Śubhākarasimha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra are called the "Three Great Masters of the K'ai-yuan era 713-741 A.D. (三大士) hence His Holiness T'ai-su (太虛) designates the Tantrik sect of Chinese Buddhism as K'ai-yuan sect (開元宗) These three teachers may be said to form the Amoghavajra School in a narrower sense: see Henri Maspero-Le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan sous les T'ang, *BEFEO*, XII, 1, p. 20 and Lo Ch'ang-p'ei-Tibetan and Chinese Transcriptions of the Sanskrit Palatal Consonants, *Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology*, Academia Sinica, Vol. III, 3, Peiping, 1931. T'ien-si-tsai, She-hu and Dharmadeva may be called the Second "Three Great Masters" of Tantric Buddhism in China.

I have here attempted the restoration of the following three Stotras into Sanskrit for the first time, from their Chinese transliterations :

- I. *Māra-vijaya-stotram*⁹ Transliterator and date unknown. Taisho Tripiṭaka Vol. XIX, no. 941. Bagchi—Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome II, p. 638, no. 28.
- II. *Mañjuśrī-maṅgala-gāthāḥ*. Translation by Dharmabhadra, 982-1001 A.D., Nanjio's *Catalogue*, no. 1074; Taisho XX, 1196; Bagchi, II, p. 594, no. 107.
- III. *Bhagavatī ārya-tārāyā daṇḍaka-stotram*—Transliteration by She-hu (Dānapala?), 980-982 A.D., Nanjio no. 1079; Taisho XX, no. 1107, Bagchi, II, p. 604, no. 96.

For the transliterated Chinese texts of these stotras, three editions of the Chinese Tripiṭaka have been collated, viz. the reprinted Ts'ing Dynasty edition (Long-tsang 龍藏 Dragon Tripiṭaka) of which there is a copy in the Viśvabhārati, Cīna-Bhavana (Santiniketan), the Shang-hai edition at Cīna-bhavana and also at Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona, and the Taisho edition at Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta and the Bombay University Library. I have been unable to consult the reprinted Song edition (隲砂藏).

These three stotras are found neither in Chinese translations nor in Tibetan translations or transliterations. Therefore the present work lacks such additional advantages as might have been derived therefrom. As regards the somewhat rare type of metre called *daṇḍaka*, it may be noted that two other Buddhist stotras in the same metre exist in Tibetan translations,¹⁰ viz.

Śrī-ṭālacakra-daṇḍaka-stuti, Tib. Dpal dus-kyi-ḥkhor loḥi bstod-pa rgyun-chags-pa

Śrī-vajradāka-daṇḍaka-stotra (stava), Tib. Dpal rdo-je mkha-ḥgroḥi bstod-pa rgyun-chags.

9 Its system of transliteration agrees generally with that of the other two stotras. The Chinese version available is based on a copy collated by Shingon at Edo (Tokyo) in the spring of 1687 A.D. See Taisho Tripiṭaka-General Catalogue, Vol. III, p. 352.

10 Tohoku Catalogue. Nos. 1381, 1442. The editors of this Catalogue translated *daṇḍaka* (rgyun-changs pa) as ch'ang-ngai (常愛). Cordier, II, p. 22, no. 27, p. 36, no. 23.

Examples of different varieties of the *daṇḍaka*¹¹ metre are known in Sanskrit literature. In the *Tārā-stotra* restored here, each of the ten stanzas contains only one foot of varying length, the number of *ra gaṇas* following the initial pair of *na gaṇas* in each stanza is given below :

1. 46	6. 50
2. 53	7. 53
3. 58	8. 57
4. 42	9. 48
5. 55	10. 80

This particular kind of *daṇḍaka*, which appears to suit the *stotra* form of literature, is comparable with the one found in the *Śyāmala-daṇḍaka-stotra*¹² containing five stanzas of unequal length in *daṇḍaka* metre. Other forms of this metre are met with e.g. in Bhavabhūti's *Mālati-mādhava*, Act. V, lines 142-150 (R. G. Bhandarkar's edition); Bhāsa's *Pratimānāṭaka*, Act. III, verse 3.

Of the other two *Stotras* restored here, the *Māravijaya-stotra* is composed in the *toṭaka* metre and the *Mañjuśrī-maṅgala-gāthāḥ* in the *vasantatilakā* metre. There are some Prakritisms in the former e.g. *catu-satya* for *catuḥ satya*, *prahāra* for *prahara*, *śruṇanti* for *śruṇvanti*.

In the *Tārā-stotra* restored here the eight *mahā-bhayas* are described but in an order different from that in the *Sragdharā-stotra*.

<i>Tārā-stotra</i>	<i>Sragdharā-stotra</i>
Stanza 2. mṛgendra-lion	10. jala-water
3. vāraṇa-elephant	11. agni-fire
4. hutāśa-fire	12. karin-elephant
5. āśīviṣa-serpent	13. caura-robber
6. yātudhāna-demon	14. simha-lion
7. taskara-robber	15. phaṇin-serpent
8. śṛṅkhala-fetters	16. bandhana-fetters
9. sāgara-waters	17. rakṣas-demon

11 Piṅgala's *Chanda-śāstra*, VII, 32 (Kavyamala edition p. 153); Vāgvallabha, Kashi Sanskrit Series, no. 100, pp. 299-308.

12 Edited by S. C. Vidyabhusan, *Buddha-stotra-saṅgraha* Vol. I, Calcutta, 1908; p. 5 (3). *Bṛhat-stotra-ratnabhāra*, p. 434, no. 197.

मारविजयस्तोत्रम् ।

(釋迦牟尼佛成道在菩提樹降魔證)

जितमारकलिं जगदेकगुरुं

सुरयक्षमहोरगदैत्यनतम्¹ ।

चतुसत्य² सुदेशितमार्गमिमं³

गुणमेघमहं प्रणमामि सदा ॥१॥

भवभीममहोदधिमध्यगतं

कृपणार्तरवं⁴ समवेक्ष्य जनम् ।

परिमोचयितुं य इह प्रणिधिं⁵

प्रचकार विहस्तमहं प्रणतः ॥२॥

गिरिराजनिभं शरदिन्दुधियं⁶

सुमुखं सुभुजं वररूपधरम् ।

सुगतंगतमप्रतिमं सुगतं

प्रणतोऽस्मि सदा जगदर्थ⁷ करम् ॥३॥

कनकप्रभया परिपीततनुं⁸

वरदुन्दुभि⁹ तोयदवल्लुस्तम् ।

गजहंसविलम्बित¹⁰ धीरगतं

शिरसाऽभिनतोऽस्मि गुणैकनिधिम् ॥४॥

1 (Chinese Text--*mi-mi-ye nang tun=dainya-nattuni*.

2 Prakritism for *catuḥ satya*?

3 Text--*mo-kien-mi-mung=māghamimurū*.

4 Text--*krpadārta*—

5 Text—地寅^辰 for *dhīm* in *pranidhīm*.

6 Text has *lan* (姪), which should be corrected as *nun* (*dun*) (嫩).

thus we have *śaradidun*, a mistake for *śaradindu*.

7 Text--*jagadhata*.

8 Text--*todu*=*tonu*, mistake for *tann*(*n*).

9 Text--*varadudumbbi*, (the same mistake as corrected in note 6 *supra*).

10 Text--*vilammite*.

तरुणार्क¹¹ समैरचलैर्नयने¹²

स्फुरदु¹³ ग्रमहाशानि¹⁴ भीमरवैः ।

नमुचिप्रहरै¹⁵ रसिशक्तिधरैः

चलितोऽसि विभो न हि कुविहृतैः¹⁶ ॥५॥

लवलोफलपाण्डुरकर्णपुटाः¹⁷

कुच¹⁸ भारविनामितगात्रलताः ।

— — — — — सुताः¹⁹

स्वसितैः — — — — — ²⁰ ॥६॥

तरवः कुसुमस्तवकाभरणा²¹

बहुरत्नसहस्रचिताश्च नगाः ।

न तथाऽभिरताः जनयन्ति²² सतां

जनयन्ति²³ यथा तव वीरगुणाः ॥७॥

स्फुटचित्पदं²⁴ बहुयुक्तियुतं ।

गमकं वचनं तव कर्णसुखम् ।

शुभमार्गफलं प्रसमीक्ष्य जनाः²⁵

न श्रृणन्ति²⁶ पुनः — — — वचः ॥८॥

11 Text—*tarudārka*.

12 Text—*nayinai*—

13 Text—*sphurud*—

14 Text—*mahādano*-, read 掄 (*śa*) for (na) 捺.

15 Prakritism for *prohāna*?

16 Read 伽. for 去?

17 Text *pāṇḍuru-kaṇa*—

18 Text *ṭica*, Read (*ku*) 矩 for (*ti*) 知.

19 Text—*namadastavaśikuru nāgam*?

20 Text—*skhalithūrapikaghayitum*?

21 Text—*-bbiraṇāh*.

22 Text—*-japnyabhi* for *janayanti*; read 𑖦 (*na*) for .*pu*? (𑖦).

23 Text—*janayakti*.

24 Text—*patam*.

25 Text—*janān*.

26 Prakritism for *śṛṇvanti*?

27 Text *tarati hya*—

इति वा शरणं समवेक्ष्य जनाः²⁸
 न पतन्त्यपि²⁹ कल्पशतैर्निरये ।
 विनिहत्य च दोषरिपुन्³⁰ बहुलान् ।
 परियन्ति शुभं वरमोक्षपुरम् ॥९॥
 तव सौम्य तथा³¹ ऽप्यभिभूतवनः
 न विराजति शीतकरो गगने³² ।
 तव काञ्चन कुंकुम³³ सप्रभया
 प्रभयाऽभिहतो न विभाति³⁴ रविः ॥१०॥
 तव नाथ शुभे वदनाम्बुरुहे
 नयनभ्रमरा निपतन्ति नृणाम्³⁵ ।
 प्रतिबुद्धदले कमले विमले ।
 भ्रमरा इव पुष्पशताकुलिताः³⁶ ॥११॥
 इति तोटकमन्त्रवरै³⁷ रतुलैः
 परिकीर्त्य मया तव वर्णलवान् ।
 यदुपार्जित³⁸ मद्य शुभं विपुलं
 शिवमस्तु³⁹ ततो भुवि देवनृणाम्⁴⁰ ॥१२॥
 ॥ मारविजयस्तोत्रं समाप्तमिति ॥

28 Text—janān.

29 Text—pataḥhyapi.

30 Text—vinibhatya ca deṣa ripūn bahulaḥ.

31 Text—saimyatayā.

32 Text—śītikaro gagaṇai.

33 Text—kukuma-

34 Text—viśāti, read 嫫 (bhā) for (sā) 嫫.

35 Text—nīpataḥ tṛṇān.

36 Text—puṣṣma-śatākulitām

37 Text—munṛvarai-

38 Text—upajīti-

39 Text—śīcam.

40 Text—nṛṇai.

मञ्जुश्रीबोधिसत्वमङ्गलगाथाः ॥

(曼殊室利菩薩吉祥伽陀)

प्रज्ञाङ्गसङ्गकुलिशो^१ द्रवबोधिचित्तैः

मञ्जुश्रिये विमलबोधिसुखाभिषेकैः^२ ।

यद् मङ्गलं^३ जिनवरः सुसुतैः सुगीतम्

तद् मङ्गलं भवतु ते परमा^४भिषेकैः ॥१॥

श्रीवज्रसत्त्वगणमण्डलसम्प्रवेश्यैः

लास्यादिभिर्भुवनसारविलासिनीभिः ।

यद् मङ्गलं सुखकरं प्रवरं प्रगीतं

तद् मङ्गलं भवतु ते परमाभिषेकैः ॥२॥

अत्यन्त साधु^५चरितातिशयै^६रशेषान्

सत्त्वान्^७ विबोध्य सततं^८ सुगताभिषेकैः ।

^९यद् मङ्गलं सुरवरैरपि तैः प्रगीतं

तद् मङ्गलं भवतु ते परमाभिषेकैः । ३॥

श्रीमान् त्रिलोकविजये वरमण्डलाऽग्रे

त्रैलोक्यराज्यविजयोत्तमनाथसेकः ।

यद् मङ्गलं सुरवरैः^{१०}प्रणतैः^{११}प्रगीतं

तद् मङ्गलं भवतु ते परमाभिषेकैः ॥४॥

1 Text *kulile-*

2 Text—*abhiṣe-* (卐), throughout; read *abhiṣe-*

3 Text—*maṅgala*.

4 Text—*paramahābhiṣeka-*

5 Text—*sādu* (善).

6 Text—*caritātisayai-*

7 Text—*satvā*.

8 Text—*satata*.

9 Text—*pad* (鉢).

10 Text—*suravarais—*

11 Text—*pranatais—*

नानाजगद्विनयसार¹² सरोज-पाणेः
 सम्बुद्धरत्नमकुटाऽवितथाभिषेकैः ।
 यद् मङ्गलं कमलरागविशुद्धिगीतं
 तद् मङ्गलं¹³ भवतु ते परमाभिषेकैः ॥१॥
 आकाशगर्भमणिरत्नविभूतिरम्यैः¹⁴
 सर्वार्थसिद्धिसुखदस्य महाभिषेकैः ।
 यद् मङ्गलं शुभविभूतिकरैः सुगीतं
 तद् मङ्गलं भवतु ते परमाभिषेकैः ॥६॥
 षट्¹⁵ चक्रवर्त्तिशुभमङ्गलगीतिकायो
 यत् पुण्यरत्नवरमत्यतुलं¹⁶ मयाऽप्तम् ।
 तेनाऽस्तु सर्वगतभूमिमहाभिषेकैः
 प्रीतो¹⁷ विशुद्धवरकीर्त्तिः स मञ्जुनाथः ॥७॥

12 Text—omits *sāra*.

13 Text—*maṅgala*.

14 Text—*ramaiḥ*.

15 Text—*ṣaṭu*.

16 Text—*va(...)* *matvatulam*.

17 Text—omits *prīto*

भगवत्या आर्यताराया दण्डकस्तोत्रम् ॥

(聖多羅菩薩梵讚)

नमस्तारायै ॥ भगवति वरदे^१ जये देवदैत्योरगेन्द्रादिभक्ति-

प्रणामाकुलाध्यानतालोलचूडामणिव्युज्जिताऽत्य^२न्तकान्तप्रभाजालकालीदृपादाम्बुजे
घोरसंसार^३ तोयार्णवान्तर्गतोत्तारिताशेषलोकान्तराले महोपद्रवाघातनायोद्यते
वामपाणिस्थपूर्णासितेन्दीवरामोदलुब्धालिपक्षानिलालोल^४ कान्तालकान्ते कृपाविष्ट-
चित्ते परार्थप्रवृत्ते शरण्ये वरे^५ देवि भक्त्या नमामि प्रसीदानुकम्पस्व माम् ॥१॥
सितखरनखराग्रभीमाभिघात-द्विधाभिन्नमत्तेभकुम्भास्थिमस्तिष्कपङ्कच्छलाऽध्यक्त-
रक्तच्छटापाटलात्यन्तभास्वच्छटाल^६ विशालास्यरन्ध्र^७स्थरक्ता^८द्रसारङ्गमांस-
स्खलद्^९ ^{१०}घर्घरध्यान^{११}मात्रासितारण्यमातङ्ग^{१२}पूगं^{१३}जलद्भीम^{१४}निर्धूमका-
लानलार्चिर्ज्वलन्तं प्रदीप्तान्तनेत्रनेत्रद्वयाभासुरं घोरदंष्ट्राकरालाननं विस्फुरन्तं
नितान्तप्रवण्डं मृगेन्द्रं^{१५}क्षुधात्तं^{१६}ग्रसन्तं वने कातरस्त्वद् गुणौघा^{१७}नुजात-
स्मृतिः पश्यति^{१८}स्तम्भितं^{१९}तत्क्षणन्निश्चलं भक्तियुक्तः पुमान्^{२०} ॥२॥
गलितकरटदानपानानुरायात^{२१}भृङ्गावलीमुक्तभङ्गार^{२२}नादाहितकुद्भवेगोच्चरन्^{२३}

1 Text—*varadhe* (提)

2 Text—*vyujjhitātanta-*

3 Text—*sasāra*.

4 Text—*rula*; read 魯 (*lo*) for 嚙 (*ru*)

5 Text—*vara*.

6 Text—*bhāśvac-*

7-13 Text—*rambra-*, *-raktādra-*, *-māmsa-(-)khalan* *kharghara-bdhāna-*, *māvānga-*
-putaṇ.

14 Text—*nirboma-*

15 Text—*pracaṇḍa mṛgendra*.

16 Text—*kṣudhārtum*.

17 Text—*gunogbā-*

18 Text—*paśati*.

20 Text—*pramāna*.

22 Text—*ramkāra*.

19 Text—*ta(-)kṣāṇām*.

21 Text—*pānātra neta*.

23 Text—*vegoccara*.

मन्द्रगम्भीरकण्ठध्वनिधमात्²⁴ भूमीधरान्तर्निकुञ्जो²⁵ द्रापातघातोच्छलद्²⁶ घर्घ-
रव्योमदिग्व्यापि²⁷ घोरारवाकर्णनत्वासनप्रतीमेन्द्रयूथः समुत्कर्णतालस्तमाला-
भिनीलो विशालोत्तमाङ्गस्थलाभोगभग्नाङ्कुशाग्रो विषाणाग्रसञ्चूर्णितानेकदेहो
— — —²⁸ दुर्वारणो²⁹ दारुणो मारणायोद्यतोऽपि त्वरद्भिर्भयोद्भ्रान्त-
नेत्रैः³⁰ समुत्रस्तगात्रैर्नृभिस्त्वद्गुणानुस्मृतेः शृङ्खलालानितो निश्चलक्ष्माधरेन्द्रा-
यते ॥३॥

प्रवलचलितघातवेगाहतोद्धतधूमाव³¹ लीरुद्धदिग्भागभोगान्धकारं धगित्यु-
ज्झिताघूर्णितज्वालमन्तःस्फुरद्विस्फुलिङ्गं स्फुटद्वेणुविस्फोट³² भङ्गारवित्रस्तनारी-
कृताकन्द³³ हाहारवपूरिताशं हुताशं विनाशोद्यतं घोरकल्पानलाचितज्वलन्तं³⁴
प्रदीप्तं जये देवि तारेत्यलं नाममात्रं नृणां³⁵ गृह्णतां त्वत्प्रसादाम्बुवृष्टिः³⁶
सुशान्तं³⁷ करोति³⁸ क्षणादस्तभीतीन् नरान् ॥४॥

कुटिलवदनविभ्रमभ्रान्तबोभत्स³⁹ पुच्छं समाविष्कृतकृद्धनिमुक्त⁴⁰ फुत्कार
वातानुविद्युद्गना⁴¹ ग्निस्फुरद्विस्फुलिङ्गं विचित्राङ्गभङ्गं महाघस्मराङ्गं⁴² भुजङ्गा-

24 Text—*kaṇṭhadhvanidhvantā-*

25 Text—*nikuñco-*

26 Text—*ghātocchalañ.*

27 Text *didhyāpi.*

28 Text—*hi-neva* for *hi-deva*

29 Text—*durvārāṇi.*

30 Text—*taradbhi.*

31 Text—*bomāvali.*

32 Text—*vispho-jhaṁkāra.*

33 Text—*ghṛtākṛanda* read 𑖦𑖳 (*k-*) for 𑖦𑖳 (*gh-*)

34 Text—*kālpānalarci-jvalantañ.*

35 Text—*nṛnā.*

36 Text—*tva-prasādābhu-*

37 Text—*sukhuteṁ;* read 𑖦𑖳 (*śam*) for 𑖦𑖳 (*khu?*)

38 Text—*karov* read 𑖦𑖳 (*ti*) for 𑖦𑖳 (*vi*).

39 Text—*vibbasa*

40 Text—omits *nir* in *nirmukta*

41 Text—*phatkāra*

43 Text—*-ṅga*

42 Text—*vatā-*

धिपं⁴ १ विस्फुरल्लोजिह्वं⁴ २ चलद्भोगभागाग्रसंलग्नं⁴ ३ रत्नत्विषां जालकैरावृतोत्-
तुङ्गचञ्चत्⁴ ४ फणाचक्रवालं महाविभ्रमं⁴ ५ कोपदोसान्तनेत्रं कृतान्तग्रहग्रस्तकालो-
ग्रदण्डानुरूपं विरूपाक्षकण्ठयूतिं दुष्टमाशीविषं निर्विषी⁴ ६ भूतमायान्तमासघ्न-
मास्कन्दति त्वामनुस्मृत्य देवि क्षणं⁵ ७ नष्टभातिः पुमान्⁵ १ ॥५॥ .

वदनकुहरनिर्गताट्टाट्टहासोलसत्⁵ २ पावक⁵ ३ ज्वालमाकुण्डलीभूतवक्त्रभ्रुवं घोर-
दंष्ट्राकरालं कराग्रोद्धृतान्त्रावलीजालमावेष्टितव्यालवल्ली⁵ ४ निबद्धौद्धताग्निप्रभा-
पिङ्गलालोलवालं करालं कपालार्धं⁵ ५ सन्धारिणं यातुधानं⁵ ६ विधानं⁽²⁾ कुनासाद-
धानं⁵ ७ — — — नास्थं⁵ ८ गृहीतोग्रशस्त्रं विवस्त्रं⁵ ९ क्षुधात्तं⁶ १० समुद्रासयन्तं
तथा पश्यतो⁶ १ ऽपि त्वदुद्गतो⁶ २ मन्त्राक्षरैर्ध्यायिनो⁶ ३ देहिनी देवि तारे तवात्म⁶ ४
प्रसादाद्भयं नैव सञ्जायते ॥६॥

विजगहनपादप्रपन्तकान्तार⁶ ५ घोराध्वसंस्थापिताः⁶ ६ कोपरक्तान्तनेत्रा दरा-
लोलवक्त्राः⁶ ७ सुसन्नद्धगात्राः सशूलसिहस्ता विचित्रायुधांकाः⁶ ८ समापिङ्गलश्म-
श्रवः⁶ ९ केचिदुत्खातखड्ग⁷ १० यत्र तिथ्यामलांगाः — — — ७ १ घोराकोदण्ड-
कज्यानिवृष्टप्रकोष्ठा विहिंसैकनिष्ठाः⁷ ३ समावृत्य संगृह्यतां⁷ ४ विध्यतां⁷ ५ नीयताम-

44 Text—*-dhipa*

45 Text—*-phuraṇola-*

47 Text—*-ābdattuṅga*; read 漫哩 for 漫那

49 Text—*-nirviṣi-*

51 Text—*-pumāna*

53 Text—*-yāvaka*

55 Text—*-kaphālārda*

57—Text—*-kudhasādhadhānam*

59 Text—*-vivastram*

61 Text—*-paśata-*

63 Text—*-vyāyino*

65 Text omits *ra* in *kāntāra*

67 Text—*-durālolaavakrāḥ*

69 Text—*-śmaśruvaḥ*

71 Text—*-dhiṣṇuvidhiṣu?*

72 Text—*-nirghaṣṭa* read 伽哩 (*ghr*) for 哩伽 (*rgba*)

73 Text—*-niṣṭāḥ*

74 Text—omits *tām* in *saṅgrhyatām*

46 Text omits *la* in *samlagna*

48 Text—*-vibhrama*

50 Text—*-kṣaśam*; read (赧救).

52 Text—*-hāsaṃśat*

54 Text—*-varṇi*

56 Text—*-yātuvānam*

58 Text—*-vidhidhāvanā-sṭha?*

60 Text—*-kṣudbhāratnam*

62 Text—*-udgrta-*

64 Text—*-tavāma*

66 Text—*-dhādhi*

68 Text—*-vicitrāvahgāḥ*

70 Text—*-kṛta-khaṅga*

75 Text—*-vidhyatā*

न्तकावासमित्युक्तिभिर्देवि निर्भत्सयन्तः⁷⁶ क्रुधा विस्फुरन्तस्त्वरन्तोऽपि घातोद्य-
तास्तस्कराः⁷⁷ मित्रतां यान्ति पुंसस्तवाम्ब प्रणामासकृन्नामसङ्कीर्तनात्⁷⁸ ॥७॥

कुपितनृपतिघोरहुङ्गारसञ्चोदनानन्तरोत्थापित⁷⁹ क्रुद्धवीरदराकृष्टकेशा ग्रह-
ग्रस्तख — — — — —⁸⁰ पाष्णि⁸¹ प्रपाताखिलक्षोदिताङ्गा
इव छिन्न⁸² पक्षाभिभूताश्चलद्भीमकालायसशृङ्खलादामसन्दानितेनार्द्रकिञ्जल्कगन्धा-
न्धलुब्धालिमाला समालिङ्गिताञ्जद्वयेनेव⁸³ — — —⁸⁴ भागं त्रि⁸⁵ युग्मेनस-
ञ्जातकृच्छ्र⁸⁶ व्यथाविकलबीभूतचित्ता नरा बन्धनागारमध्ये स्थिताः कालदूतैरिवारक्ष-
कैरावृता⁸⁷ देवि तारे जये बन्धनात् मोक्षणात्⁸⁸ त्वामनुस्मृत्य मातः क्षणं
नष्टभौतिकमाः ॥८॥

प्रलयपवनचण्डचण्डानिलोद्धूत — — — — —⁸⁹ मालाकुलीस-
ङ्कुलीचक्रचक्रीकृत⁹⁰ क्रूरनागेन्द्रफुत्कार⁹¹ ब्रह्मिस्फुलिङ्गोत्करे — — —⁹² ग्रस्त-
बीभत्स — — —⁹³ चलत् पुच्छधाराहतोद्धूतवीचीचयाद्विभ्रमत्फेनपिण्डारुणे⁹⁴
पाण्डरे दुस्तरे सागरेऽन्तर्हिताशेषकुले विशाले समुत्खात⁹⁵ पातालगतं स्थितावर्त्त-
सम्भ्रान्तपर्यस्त — — — — —⁹⁶ सत्वरैः कातरैर्देवि तारे नरैः प्राप्यते गाध-
माजानुद्घनं महाम्भोनिधेः⁹⁷ ॥९॥

76 Text—*kribha-ccayantah*

78 Text—*sa-kīrtanām*

80 Text—*stāvanaśrutamgasa?*

82 Text—*jhinna*

84 Text—*naisimdyā*

86 Text—*kṛccha*

87 Text—omits *ra* in *ivārakṣaka-*

88 Text—*mokṣaṇi*

90 Text—*(k)ratī*

91 Text—*phat*

93 Text *bibhansa mamsyo?*

94 Text—omits *ru* in *ruṇe*

95 Text *samu-khuta*

96 Text—*putādṛti?*

97 *mabābbonidheh*

77 Text—*bamtodyutās*

79 Text—*dhyaṇi-*

81 Text—*pā-ṣṇi*

83 Text—*dhayeneva*

85 Text—*adghri*

89 Text *nirbhukālunolā*

92 Text—*puṣpadu?*

इति शुभवरदे जये जात⁹⁸ वेदः प्रमोदे जगत्त्राणदे पुष्टिदे वृद्धिदे मुक्तिदे
भूतिभद्रे सुभद्रे कृपाद्रं⁹⁹ सचन्द्राभवक्ते¹⁰⁰ शिवे विश्वरूपे धूतत्रयध्वरूपे¹⁰¹ ध्रुवे
श्यामवर्णे शरण्ये सुपुण्ये सुप्रबुद्धे धूतध्वान्तसम्बुद्धरत्नप्रभापिङ्गकेशे
हताशेषदोषे¹⁰² विशुद्धार्थवागीश्वरि ध्यानयोगेश्वरि प्राप्तवद्येऽनवद्येऽतिसूक्ष्मे
वरे देवि ते दण्डकस्तोत्रमेतेन पुण्येन¹⁰³ लोकोऽखिलो दग्धदोषेन्धनो¹⁰⁴ ह्यस्तु¹⁰⁵
बोधास्प¹⁰⁶ दन्नच्युतत्रिजंरं¹⁰⁷ ब्रह्मरुद्रेन्द्रविष्णादिभिर्वन्दितम् पूजितं¹⁰⁸
नृर्जितं सर्वलोकावि—कं वरं भक्तिवीजेन चाहं भवेयं¹⁰⁹ तवामोघपादाम्बुजा-
राधनातत्परो दानशीलक्षमाध्यानवीर्यादिभिश्चान्वितः सर्वदुःखान्तकृत्¹¹⁰
सर्वसत्त्वार्थकारी जिनः स्यामहम् ॥१०॥

॥ भगवत्या आर्यताराया दण्डकस्तोत्रं समाप्तम्¹¹¹ ॥

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98 Text—*jāta vede*

99 Text—*krpādre*

100 Text—*vakre*

101 Text—*śya* for *trya*

102 Text—*doṣa*

103 Text *puvvena*, read (JE). (*n-*) for (E). (*v-*)

104 Text—*dana-doṣa—*

105 Text—omits *by—*

106 Text— *syadan:*

107 Text—*nijaram*

108 Text—*pūjita*

109 Text—*bhavayam*

110 Text—*duḥkhā-takṛn*

111 Text—*stotra samāpta*

[The present article is a part of the thesis approved for the Ph.D. Degree of the Bombay University. The Chinese texts have not been reproduced here but in all cases where the texts are faulty the original readings have been noted in the footnotes. We hope the complete work with the Chinese texts, the Sanskrit restorations along with a study of the systems of transliterations adopted in the texts will be published in the form of a book at an early date. P. C. B.]

Two Buddhist Stotras restored by Sylvain Lévi¹

I

An unknown poem of king Harṣa Śīlāditya Aṣṭa-mahā-caitya-stotra

The *Hymn to Eight Great Venerable Caityas*² (in Chinese *Pa ta ling t'a fan tsan*; in Sanskrit: *Aṣṭa-mahā-śrī-caitya-saṃskṛta-stotra*) recommends itself not so much by its proper merits as by the name of its author. The Chinese tradition attributes it to the Indian king Kie-je, "the sun of the virtue"; and Hiuan-tsang has taught us to recognise under this translation the name of the Emperor of Hindustan, Śīlāditya of Kanoj, better known in Indian history and literature under the name Harṣa or Harṣavardhana. The poem is composed in all in five stanzas, the first in Mandākrantā and the remaining four in Sragdharā. The monk Fa-t'ien³ who made himself

1 [In the preceding article the author Dr. Chou Ta-fu has referred to two restorations of Sanskrit stotras from Chinese transcriptions. The first entitled: *Une poésie inconnue du Roi Harṣa Śīlāditya* was published by Lévi in 1894 in *Actes du 10e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 2e partie, section I, Inde. The article has since been reproduced in *Mémoires Sylvain Lévi* pp. 212-256. The other stotra restored by Lévi was incorporated by E. Chavannes in his article—*Les Inscriptions de Bodhgayā*, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* XXXIV 1896. Lévi did the pioneer's work and showed the way and hence the two restorations made by him are of great value. As the two restorations are ordinarily inaccessible to us I have thought it fit to publish the translations here. I have not here reproduced the Chinese texts as they may be easily found by the specialists in the standard editions of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Besides I have altered the system of transcription used by Lévi according to the modern needs.—The Chinese Index referred to in the article is not reproduced here. P. C. B.]

2 Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* (Oxford 1883), no. 1071.

3 *Ib.* Appendix, II, no. 159. Fa-t'ien changed his name into Fa-hien since 982. This second name occurs in the transcription of the *Aṣṭacaitya-stotra*; it should therefore be placed between 982 and 1001 A.D.

famous under the Northern Song dynasty by more than one hundred translations did not think it beneath his dignity to transcribe the Sanskrit original laboriously in Chinese characters. He however acquitted himself quite well of this delicate task; loyal to the system which Yi-tsing⁴ seems to have inaugurated, he resolves the groups of consonants into simple elements and then marks the combinations of two or three sounds by additional signs⁵; he also notes the long vowels by a similar device⁶. His alphabet of transcription is so clearly combined that it is easy to restore the Sanskrit words with the exception of two or three. The metrical exigencies guarantee the faithfulness of the restoration. The orthography *mudhnā* (and *mūdhnā*) which occur four times is surprising in a text which is generally so correct.

The title of the text does not exactly indicate the object. The author does not pay homage to the eight principal sacred places, but his adoration is addressed to all the Stūpas, Caityas and Dhātugarbhas of the earth and the entire universe. The geography has more than one precious indication for it in the enumeration of the peoples of countries such as Kashmir, China, Kashgar⁷, Marwar, Ceylon, Lāṭa, Uḍra, Sindh, Paṇḍra, Samatāṭa, Magadha, Mekhala, Kosala, Nepal, Kāmrūpa and the kingdoms of Kāñcī and Saurāṣṭra. The geographical information of the poet corroborates the Chinese tradition; it corresponds well to the real state of India about the seventh century.

It is difficult to determine the names of the eight Caityas that were very sacred with the help of our text alone; but there is another small treatise, translated by the same monk Fa-t'ien, which gives a clear and complete list. The (*Fo-shuo*)-*pa-ta-ling-t'a-ming-hao-king* (*Buddhabhāṣita-Aṣṭamahāśrīcaityanāmastotra*)⁸ attributed to Buddha

4 *Les Religieux Eminents qui allèrent chercher la Loi dans les pays d'occident* by Yi-tsing, translated by E. Chavannes (Paris 1894), p. 201.

5 二合 三合 mean "two together, three together."

6 引 "to lengthen."

7 It is difficult not to recognise in Khaṣa-taṭa (渴沙) the country of K'ia-sha (去沙) mentioned by Hiuan-tsang which corresponds to Kashgar.

8 Nanjio. no. 898.

himself or to an anonymous sage of India, enumerates in prose as well as in verse the eight holy places of Buddhism with the memories which make them sacred : the Lumbinī garden at Kapilavastu (birth), the Bodhi tree at Gayā (enlightenment), Vārāṇasī (turning of the wheel), Jetavana (manifestation of supernatural power), Kanyākubja (the heavenly ladder), Rājagṛha (preaching), Vaiśālī (prediction on death) and Kuśinagara (entering the Nirvāṇa). The poet of our hymn mentions formally only the Lumbinī garden at Kapilavastu, Vaiśālī, and Kuśinagara and makes allusions to Vārāṇasī (*dharmacaakra*). Gayā (*bodhimūle*), and Kanyākubja (*devāvatāra*)⁹; he adds Śrāvastī, Kauśāmbī, and Mathurā. I do not know to what locality the mention of *bhīṣmakāyoditira* refers.

It would be interesting to know the circumstances to which the small poem of Harṣa owes its singular preservation in the Chinese canon. Two hypotheses occur to our mind : either Fa-t'ien, a student of the Nālanda monastery in India had brought the stanzas which he transcribed or Hiuan-tsang, the most illustrious among the Chinese pilgrims, had received them from his royal host as a friendly and pious souvenir; consecrated by the honoured name of the monk and the king, they were later on admitted into the canon. The authenticity of the attribution does not at all seem contestable : we know from formal evidence of epigraphy that Harṣa did not remain contented by putting his name on the works of the poets in his pay but that he really dabbled in poetry. On the other hand the Nepalese tradition independently of the Chinese tradition also attributes to king Harṣa (Harṣabhūpati-viracita) the *Suprabhātastotra*¹⁰, a small poem in twenty-four stanzas. The two stotras of Nepal and China have a striking similarity in appearance : both appear to be litanies accomodated by a clever versifier; both are almost entirely learned enumerations of names with a refrain at the end of the stanzas. The

9 The place where the descent by heavenly ladder took place called Sanikāśya by Fa-hien Kapitha by Hiuan-tsang is simply called *Devāvatāra* in the *Mahāvīratpatti*, §193 and also in the itinerary of a Chinese pilgrim of the 8th century: *Le Voyage de Ou-K'ong* which we propose to publish without delay.

10 Published by Minacff in the *Zapiski de la Société Archéologique*, t. II. fasc. III, 236-237, *Prières Bouddhiques*.

Suprabhātastotra has moreover a beautiful verse which is both spiritual and refined and reminds us of the *Ratnāvlī* and the *Priyadarśikā* :

*stutam api surasaṃghaiḥ siddhagandharvayakṣair
divi bhuvi suvicitraiḥ stotravāgbhir yatīśaiḥ
aham api kṛtaśaktir naumi sambuddham āryam
nabhasi garuḍayante kiṃ na yānti dvirephāḥ*

I give first of all the text in Chinese characters, then the transcription of Chinese, character by character, connecting by the sign + the syllables to be combined according to the indications of Fa-t'ien himself¹¹. Fa-t'ien has divided the verses by half pāda; I have also reproduced this division of the stanza into eight parts¹². At the end I have given the index of the characters of transcription used by Fa-t'ien; I have noted within brackets, whenever necessary, the number of the character in the *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanskrits* of Stanislas Julien (Paris, 1861); I have given only those Chinese characters which are not found in St. Julien's book. To the beginners my index will serve as a means of controlling the interpretations of Julien and the others would either complete or at least enrich the already long list prepared by him. It would be seen that Fa-t'ien generally attaches a precise and fixed value to each character; he has never departed from this principle except in one case; when a Sanskrit word to be transcribed is found since a long time in Chinese under a traditional form Fa-t'ien follows the established custom as in the case of such words as *stūpa*, *dhātu*, *Kāśmīra*. A more rigorous classification which will take into account the time and the place will doubtless remove the apparent multiplicity of the values attributed to the same sign in the *Méthode* of

11 The words printed in italics are to be grouped according to Fa-t'ien's instructions, by picking them inversely, one from the final element and the other from the initial element.

12 Fa-t'ien or his editor has confounded by error in one half pāda numbered 7, two half pādas of which the first ended with the word *śīrasā*; from there the numbers which he gives to the half pādas are short by one of the real numbers. The error is rectified at the end by wrongly counting the title (*Aṣṭamahācaitya-vandana-samāpta*) as the 40th half pāda.

Julien; it will be perhaps found that most of the Chinese interpreters have like Fa-t'ien followed a fixed and constant system of transcription.

Transcription

jo-ting mao-t'ing po + lo-fu-lo-mo-tu-lang /l/

ta-li + mo-tso-ki + lo tso lo-miao /2/

tsai-ti + chang-tso-ni + chang ti + li-pu-fo-no-mo-hi-tang /3/

she + lī-mo-ho-po + lo-ti-ho-li + chang /4/

sa + t'a-nan-tsi-nang-hi-mo-yi-li-ni-lo-chang /5/

nī-fo-nī-fo-to-to-lo /6/

man-nī-ho-po + lo-na-mo-to she-lo-so

ni-mu + li-to-ye-ta + lo-mo-t'o /7/

feī-she-leāng ta-li + mo-tso-ki + li she-shu-mo-yi-li-ta-che /8/

p'ī-she + mo-ko-yū-tie-tī-lī /9/

she-lo-fo-sa-tie mao-t'i-mu-li kiu-she-na-ngo-lo-pu-li / 10/

lung-mi-nī-ko-pi-lo-li-yī //

kiao-shen-mie sa + mien-lo-ku + she + che mo-t'u-lo-fo-lo-pu-li /12/

nan-no-wu-po-sie lo-she + che + lī / 13/

yī-tso-ning + yi she-su + tu-tsaī-tie na-she-fo-li-no /14/

sa + tān na-mo-sie-mi mu-ta + nā /15/

ko-she + mī-lī tsī-na-nī-she / 16 /

k'ie-she-ta-che-ye-mu-ni mo-li + fo-li sing-ho-li fo //17/

lo-ning-na + lī sin-tu-pao-na + lī / 18/

san-mo-ta-cha'mo-nie-t'i-mo-k'ie-li ku-sa-li fo /19/

nī-po-lī ko-mo-lu-pī ko-lo-she-fo-lo-pu-lī / 20 /

kān-tsi-sao-lo-she + cha + lo-lo-she + cha + li /21/

vī-tso-ning-yi-t'o-tu-ngo-li-p'o na-she-fo-lo-li-nā /22/

sa-tān no-mo-sie-mi mu-ta + nā /23/

kai-lo-sī hī-mo-kiū-che hi-mo-vi-li-ni-lo-vī / 24 /

man-na-lī-mī-lu-she + ling-vī / 25 /

po-tā-li-mei-io-ven-tī-ta-no-po-ti-ni-lo-vi / 26 /

si-t'o-ven-ta-li+fo-lu-kī /27/

mu + lo + hou-mān-nī wei-she + niu-pu-māo

po-shu-po-ti-po-fo-nī /28/

tsan-na + lo-sū-li + ve-ni-lū-kī / 29 /

yī-tso-ning-yi t'o-tu-ngo-li + p'o na-she-fo-lo-fo-li-nā /30/

कैलाशे हेमकूटे हिमगिरिनिलये मन्दरे मेरुशृङ्गे ।
 पाताले वैजयन्ते धनपतिनिलये सिद्धगन्धर्वलोके ॥
 ब्रह्माण्डे विष्णुभूमौ पशुपतिभवने⁹ चन्द्रसूर्यादिलोके ।
 ये चान्ये धातुगर्भा दशवलवलिनस्तान् नमस्यामि मूढा¹⁰ ॥४॥
 ये चाष्टौ धातुगर्भा दशवलवलिनः कुम्भासंज्ञाश्च चैत्या ।
 अंगारख्यास्तथान्ये हिमरजतनिभाः स्तूपरत्नप्रकाशाः ॥
 पाताले ये च भूम्या गिरिशिखरगताः सर्वतो धातुगर्भा ।
 बुद्धानां यानि विम्बा प्रतिदिनमसकृत् यानि मूढा¹¹ नमामि ॥५॥
 अष्टमहाचैत्यवन्दन समाप्त ।

9 Fa-t'ien has omitted the long in *bhūman*.

10 Correct as: *mūrdhnā*.

11 Correct as: *mūrdhnā*.

Postscript

[There is a literal Tibetan translation of the text which Lévi did not consult. I have compared the transcribed text with the Tibetan translation and suggested some corrections in an article entitled: *The Eight Great Caityas and their Cult* (Ind. Hist. Quarterly XVII, 232-235.) There are unfortunately a number of printing mistakes and slips in that article which I should correct at an early date. The Tibetan translation raises a new problem in regard to the authorship of the text. It is not ascribed there to Harṣa Śīlāditya but to king Harṣa or Harṣadeva of Kashmir. I have discussed the problem in the article referred to and have shown that the Tibetan tradition has greater chance to be correct on this point than the Chinese tradition.—P.C.B.]

II

San shen fan tsan—Triḱāyastavaḥ

[Chavannes in his article on *Les Inscriptions Chinoises de Bodhyaya* (Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 1896) while editing a Chinese inscription ascribed to a monk named K'o-yun (Chavannes gives the name wrongly as Yun-shu but see infra) has discussed two Chinese Buddhist texts on Triḱāya. The inscription is dated 1022 and contains an elaborate eulogy to three Kāyas of Buddha composed by K'o-yun himself. The two Buddhist texts in the Chinese Tripiṭaka are ascribed to the Indian Buddhist monk Fa-hien whose earlier name was Fa-t'ien and thus belonged to the period 982-1001 A.D. Of the two texts one, the 佛三身讚 is a translation of a short Sanskrit text and the other 三身梵讚 is a transcription of a Sanskrit stotra. Chavannes has given a French translation of the former and a restoration by Lévi of the latter. Lévi's restoration is reproduced below, the text being printed in Devanāgarī. An English rendering of Chavannes' French translation of the Chinese inscription of K'o-yun will be found in my *India and China*, pp. 89-94. The transcribed Chinese text will be found in Nanjio, *Catalogue*,

1072; Bagchi—*Le Canon Bouddhique*, II, p. 594, no. 105: Taisho edition—no. 677 P. C. B.]

yū-nai-kū-nā-pie-nī-ko /1/

so-po-lo-hi-to-mo-ho-san-po-nā-t'o-lo-pū-tū /2/

nai-fo-po-wū-na-po-fo /3/

kie-mi-fo-san-mo-lo-sū-nei-li + wei-po-fo-so-po-fo /4/

ni-li + li-pang-ni-li + wei-ko-lan-che-fo-mo-san-mo-san-mang /5/

mie-pi-nang-ning-ki po + lo-pan-tso /6/

man-ni-po + lo-tie-tu + mo-wei-nai + yang-tan-mo-

ho-mo-nu-po-mang /7/

ta-li + mo-ko-ye-ni-nā-nān /8/

lū-ko-ti-to-mo-tsin-tie /9/

su-ki-li + to-san-mo-p'o-lang-mo-tu + mo-nū-yū-wei-p'u-ting /10/

po-li + sha-nu + mo-ti-wei-tsi-tan + lān /11/

sa + to-po-ye-ti-mo-ho-ho-ti-ti-mo-tang-pi + li-ti-hi-tū /12/

mu-t'o-nān-sa-li + fo-lū-ko /13/

po + lo-she + li-to-mo-wei-lo-tū-nā-lo-sa-ta-li + mo-kiū-shuang /14/

man-ni-san-pu-ngo-ko-yang /15/

tan-mo-ho-ni-ho-mo-ho-ta-li + mo-lo-ni + yang-po + lo-

ti-she + t'o /16/

sa-to-nān-po-ko-hi-tū-ko-tsi-na-nang-lo-yi-fo /17/

po-ti-yū-ni-pie-mo-na /18/

san-mao-t'ao-ta-li + mo-tso-ki + li-ko-tsi-nai-pi-tso-pu-na /19/

lo + nai + li-sho-ti-yi-po + lo-shan-tang /20/

nai-ko-ko-lo-po-lo-mo + li-tang-ti + li-p'o-fo-p'o-ye-ho-lan /21/

wei-sho-lu-pi-lu-po-yi /22/

man-ni-ni-li + fo-na-ko-ye /23/

nai-sho-ni-ngo-niu-ngo-tang-tang-mo-ho-li + t'ang-mai-ni-nā /24/

sa-to-li + t'ai-ko-ki + li-po-na /25/

mo-po-li-mi-to-mo-ho-yi + na-pen-niū-nai-ye-nāng /26/

ko-ye-nāng-su-ngo-to-nāng /27/

po + lo-ti-wei-ngo-to-mo-nu-fo-ku + po-t'o-nāng-tan + lo-ye-nān /28/

ki + li-to-p'o-ki + tie-po + lo-nā-mang /29/

ku-she-lo-mu-po-tsi-tang-yi-na + mo-ye-mao-t'i-wei-jo /30/

ti + li-ko-ye-si + ti-na-la-mu + t'o-jo-ngo-ni-na-mo-k'i-lang /31/

mao-t'i-mo-li + yi-ning + ki-yu-jo /32/

ti + li-ko-ye-sa + tan-fo-san-nō-po + to /33/

यो नैको नाप्यनेकः

स्वपरहितमहासम्पदाधारभृतो

नेवाभावो न भावः

खमिव समर.....विभावस्वभावः ।

निर्लेपं निर्विकारं

शिवं असमसमं व्यापिनं...प्रपञ्चं

वन्दे प्रत्यात्मवेद्यं

तमहमनुपमं धर्मकायं जिनानाम् ।

लोकातीतामचिन्त्याम्

सुकृतसमफलामात्मनो यो विभूतिम्

पर्षन्मत्ते (?) विचित्रां

स्तभयति महतीं...मतां प्रीतिहेतुम् ।

बुद्धानं सर्वलोक-

प्रसृतं अविरतोदारसङ्घर्मकोशम् ।

वन्दे सम्भोगकायं

तमघनिघमहाधर्मराजां प्रतिष्ठाम् ।

सत्त्वानां भागहेतुः

कचिदनभ्र इवाभाति यो दीप्यमानः ।

सम्बोधौ धर्मचक्रे

कचिदपि च पुनर्दृश्यते यः प्रशान्तम् ।

नैकाकारप्रभृतं

त्रिभवभयहरं विश्वरूपिरूपो यः ।

वन्दे निर्वाणकायं

दशदिगनुगतं तं महार्थं मुनीनाम् ।

सत्त्वार्थैः ककृपाणाम्
 अपरिमितमहायानपुण्यानयानाम्
 कायानां सौगतानां
 प्रतिविगतमनोवाक्पथानां त्रयाणाम् ।
 कृत्वा भक्त्या प्रणामं
 कुशलमुपचितं यन्मया बोधिवीजम्
 त्रिकायास्तेन लब्ध्वा
 जगदिदमखिलं बोधिमार्गे नियुञ्जे ॥
 त्रिकायस्तवः समाप्तः ।

New lights on the Chinese Inscriptions of Bodhgayā

I

Chavannes was the first to publish an authoritative reading of the five Chinese inscriptions found at Bodhgayā with translation and notes (*Les Inscriptions Chinoises de Bodhgayā*, *Revue de l'Histoire des*

(iii) (i)
緣重往功大
，達生德漢
成，內，國
此全陀向僧
七遊。回志
佛，三同義
已緣十生先
，真萬內發
爲，入陀願
記義中。勸
之還，今三
。歸至十
惠寶摩萬
秀爲竭入
，第國修
智一，上
永入金生
，(ii)行
率志剛，
昇義座施
，第，三
清二伏十
蘊，遇萬
等廣唯卷
，峯識上
並第座生
願三主經
親，歸，
率下寶自
彌依與誦
勒？諸三
慈次大十
尊第德萬
。：等卷
今惠同：
結嚴發如
良，願上

Religions, T. XXXIV, Paris, 1896). His readings were based on estampages and photographs sent by Prof. A. Foucher who was then in India on a scientific mission. A faulty reading and a summary of two of these inscriptions had been previously published by Beal (*J.R.A.S.*, 1881, vol. XIII, pp. 552-572; *Indian Antiquary* X, p. 193). The same note was reproduced without any revision in Cunningham's *Mahabodhi*. The original of the first four of the five inscriptions studied by Chavannes are now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

A re-examination of the original of Inscription no. I has now made it possible to suggest some improvements on its reading as given by Chavannes. The stone not being in a good condition the estampage was not evidently clear enough and Chavannes was obliged to leave a few lacunae in his reading of the inscription. These lacunae have now been filled up by an examination of the original inscription. The correct reading and a revised translation are given below.

(Translation)

The monk Che-yi of the great Han country had first taken the vow to exhort three hundred thousand men to practise the conduct which assures a higher birth, to make a charity of three hundred thousand copies (lit. fasciculi) of the *Shang sheng king* (Sūtra on the higher birth), and himself to recite (it) three hundred thousand times (lit. fasciculi). Such a merit, as mentioned above conduces to birth in the inner Tuṣita (heaven). Now on arriving in Magadha, he has

admired (?) the Diamond-throne (Vajrāsana) and has humbly met the abbot of Vijñānamātra (School) Kui-pao and a group of venerable monks and together taken the vow to go to be born in the Tuṣṭita. Among three hundred thousand persons Kui-pao the first, Che-yi the second, Kuang-fong the third and others mentioned in order are Hui-yen, Ch'ong-ta, Ts'iuan-tsun, Yuan-chen, Yi-sien, Hui-siu, Che-yong, Fong-sheng. Ts'ing-yun etc. have together desired to pay homage to Maitreya, the compassionate and the honoured one and have now engraved the (images of) seven Buddhas which they place on record.

The precise date of the inscription is not given. From an examination of the style of the sculpture Cunningham suggested that the inscription could not be older than 1000 A.D. Che-yi calls himself "a monk of the great Han country." This Han dynasty could not be the great Han dynasty which ruled from 206 B.C. to 220 A.D. There was a dynasty of later Hans which ruled in a small part of China for five years only from 947 to 951 A.D. Chavannes suggested that Che-yi possibly refers to that short-lived dynasty and that Che-yi most probably came to India during the reign of these later Hans. The inscription therefore should be placed according to Chavannes between 947 and 951 A.D.

But it seems that we have now more precise indication of the date. The beginning of the third line of the inscription contains the names of monks who accompanied Kui-pao which Chavannes could not correctly read from the estampage. He read only one name Hui-shen (which is a mistake for Hui-yen) and failed to recognise the other names. These names have now been read as Hui-yen, Ch'ong-ta, Ts'iuan-tsun, Yuan-chen, Hui-siu, Che-yong, Fon-sheng, Ts'ing-yun etc. One of these names, Ch'ong-ta (重達) is otherwise known. While dealing with the notices on Chinese monks who came to China in the Song period, Chavannes in the same article (p. 51) refers to a monk named Ch'ong-ta. It is said in the *Fo-tsu-t'ong-ki* from which Chavannes collected the informations (Chap. XLIII, second year *toan-kong* 989 A.D. which Chavannes would correct as the third year *toan-kong*, 990 A.D.) that Ch'ong-ta, a Śramaṇa of T'ai yuan, came back from India in that year (990 A.D.) after ten years of absence. Ch'ong-ta therefore had started in 980-981 A.D. and must have reached

India within a year. If this Ch'ong-ta is identified with Ch'ong-ta who was in India with Che-yi then we should place the Bodhgayā inscription sometime between 981 and 990 A.D. This brings us much nearer to the date suggested by Cunningham. The great Hans referred to by Che-yi would be the earlier Hans who were really great and of whom China had always been proud and not the petty Hans of the middle of the 10th century who had gained an insignificant political power only for five years.

The expression *shang nei t'o* (生內陀) which occurs in lines 1 and 2 may be interpreted in the way we have done: *t'o* is an abbreviation for *Tou shuai t'o* (兜率陀) i.e. Tuṣita, the heaven of Maitreya Buddha. The Sūtra of which 300,000 copies were made by Che-yi and his associates, *Shang sheng king*, is also a text dedicated to Maitreya. This was identified by Chavannes in one of his later contributions (*T'oung Pao*, 1911, pp. 441-446). The text referred to is the *Kuan mi lei p'u sa shang sheng tou shuai t'ien king* (觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經) Nanjio 204, Taisho 452, which was translated by Tsu-k'iu King-sheng in 455 A.D. The text was so largely popular in the Chinese Buddhist world that 100,000 copies of its Si-hia translation were distributed in 1189 A.D. by the Si-hia king among his people. Information on this Si-hia text is given by Ivanov in his article *Stranitsa iz istorii Si-hia* (Bulletin de l'Académie imp. des Sciences de St. Petersbourg, 1911, noticed by Chavannes in *T'oung Pao*, XII, pp. 441 ff.).

Chavannes had some difficulty in the interpretation of the first few words of line 2 as he had read 過 "to pass before" instead of 遇 "to meet accidentally" and separated 主 from 座. The words 座主 should be taken together as an attribute of Kui-pao. 座 is evidently an abbreviation of the 上座 which stands for an "elder," "sthavira." Kui-pao was therefore the chief of the elders of the Wei-she or Vijñānamātra school that was founded by Hiuan-tsang and had won a great prestige for it in China in later times.

A close examination of the inscription has permitted us to read the names of the monks that occur after the name of Kui-pao in the way we have done. It was not possible for Chavannes to read the names correctly from the estampage and so he took some of the rest not as proper names but as words which he tried to translate.

The last two words of the inscription can now be read as 記之 and so it has been translated as "they place on record."

The oldest Chinese inscription of Bodhgayā may therefore be placed in the last quarter of the 10th century sometime between 981 and 990 A.D. It was set up by the Chinese monk named Che-yi in collaboration with Kui-pao and a number of other Chinese monks whom Che-yi met in India probably at Mahabodhi.

II

The second Chinese inscription of Bodhgayā studied by Chavannes is dated 1022 A.D. and attributed to a Chinese monk named Yun shu. It is an eulogy of the three kāyas of Buddha. An examination of the original inscription confirms the reading of Chavannes except in the case of the name.

The name of the monk occurs in three places, twice in line 1 and once in line 2. Chavannes read the two lines, so far as the name goes in the following manner: 一僧蘊述讚佛身座記. 蘊述別帝鄉...蘊述竭餘資...

"Memoir on the bodies (kāya) and the thrones of Buddha by monk Yun-shu.....Yun-shu left the imperial country.....Yun-shu exhausted all his remaining resources...."

From the point of view of Chinese grammar the construction is not without difficulty as the three verbs (讚別竭) are without their principal compliments. But an examination of the original inscription allows the improvement that is needed.

The character Yun (蘊) in all the three places is preceded by another character K'o (可) within the same square space and this was not noticed by Chavannes. This is an old palæographic device occasionally found in old Japanese inscriptions. The name of the monk therefore should be read not as Yun-shu but as K'o-yun (可蘊). The verbs therefore may be completed as follows—in the first case it is 述讚 "praising, eulogising", in the second case 遠別 "left" and in the third case it is 遂竭 "to use entirely, to exhaust". In the last two cases the first characters were wrongly read by Chavannes as 述. It is now clear that the name of the monk was not Yun-shu but K'o-yun.

Chou Ta-fu
P. C. Bagchi

Indian Influence on the Study of Chinese Phonology¹

1. INTRODUCTION

The Chinese scholar Cheng Ts'iao (鄭樵 1104-1162 A.D.) of the Song dynasty, while discussing the various characteristics of the Chinese and Sanskrit languages in his "Outline of Six Orders" (六書略) in T'ung-che (通志) says: "What counts with the Indians is the sound of a word; it is the discrimination of sound that is emphasised. With the Chinese it is the characters that count and the student is concerned with the discrimination of characters. So the Indian writing is simple in form, consisting only of the turns and the twists of a single line. There is little variety and no intricate arabesques and yet a great range of sounds is rendered thereby. The Chinese writing is much cramped for want of discrimination in sounds. Before the Han dynasty few knew any sort of spelling. The knowledge of spelling came to China later from the Western countries. So rime-tables can usually be read by most Buddhist monks while the Chinese scholars can hardly make head and tail of them as they are derived from India.....So the Indians have a vast number of sounds but the Chinese have as many characters. The Indians excel in hearing and they acquire their knowledge mainly through the ear; the Chinese excel in sight and they rely more upon the eye."

Cheng Ts'iao has thus fairly succeeded in representing the difference between the two languages. For though the Chinese characters may be divided into six orders according to the old usages, the so-called *liu-shu* (六書) such as: (1) *Siang-hing* (象形) or hieroglyphs, (2) *Hui-yi* (會意) -ideograms, (3) *Che-she* (指事) -emblematic characters, (4) *Sie-sheng* (諧聲) -phonetic compounds, (5) *Chuan-chu* (轉注) -homonymic synonyms and (6) *Kia-tsie* (假借) -derivatives, to judge by their general traits, hinge upon the structure of the characters and their sense and not upon their sounds. In the square pattern of a Chinese character, the image and sense it represents can often be perceived, but there is no indication in it as to how it is to be pronounced. In the phonetic compounds, the part of sound symbol is indeed purported to be phonogram, but

1 This paper was read in Viśva-Bhāratī Cheena-Bhavana, Santiniketan, Bengal, on the 23rd November, 1944.

the phonogram itself does not show the sound for it is still character and not a letter and does not represent any phonetic element. Every character, as it has its own structure, has also its own sound. Yet every character having its own sound and the sound not being indicated by its structure, there is of course a chaos which it is hard to reduce to order. Even if some phonetic system could be deduced, the symbols that represent the phonetic elements have yet to be found. This is the main obstacle with which the student of Chinese phonology is faced. For illustrations let us consider four sets of Chinese characters: (for the characters in blocs see bottom of the page).

- | | | | | | |
|----|---------|-----------------|------------------------|----------|-----------------------|
| a. | "cow," | Ancient Chinese | [,ng ² u], | Mandarin | [niu ₂] |
| b. | "goat" | „ | [,i ² ang], | „ | [iang ₂] |
| c. | "dog" | „ | [‘k’iwen] | „ | [k’üen ₃] |
| d. | "horse" | „ | [‘ma] | „ | [ma ₃] |

Even if we had known little Chinese, we could guess what these characters represent. We shall consider another set of characters:

- | | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|----------|-----------------------|
| e. | a sort of salute by holding up the two loosely clenched fists as high as the nose. | Ancient Chinese | [‘k’i ² wang], | Mandarin | [kung ₃]. |
| f. | pull down with two hands, | Anc. | [,pwan], | Mand. | [pan ₁] |
| g. | to lift or raise with many hands, | Anc. | [,iwo] | Mand. | [ü ₂] |
| h. | to hold in both hands, | Anc. | [kiuk,], | Mand. | [tsü ₂] |

We can infer the idea which these characters convey from their structure, but can either foreigners or the Chinese find any shadow of a hint as to their phonetic value? The Chinese characters are thus peculiarly unsuited to indicate sound. So the study of Chinese phonology cannot successfully progress without the help of Phonetic languages.

- a. 牛: 𠂔, 𠂔. b. 羊: 𦍋, 𦍋, 𦍋.
- c. 犬: 𤝵, 𤝵, 𤝵. d. 馬: 𠂔, 𠂔, 𠂔.
- e. 𠂔 "拱手." f. 𠂔 "攀" 或 "扳."
- g. 𠂔 "多手抬物." h. 𠂔 "兩手對舉."

With the languages of India however the case is altogether different, since they, along with other languages of the Indo-European family, belong to the order of phonetic languages. They have besides a well-developed phonology. The study of phonology was pursued in ancient India with an interest that has few parallels in antiquity. The origin of this interest may be traced in the *R̥gveda* which dedicates two entire hymns to speech. Besides the first of the six *Vedāṅgas* called *Śikṣā* and the applied phonetics viz. the *Prātiśākhya* contain many valuable phonetic theories.² Hiuan-tsang (玄奘) in his *Records of the Western World* (西域記) says: "In beginning the education of their children and winning them on to progress they follow the 'Twelve Chapters' (*Siddhirastu*). When the children are seven years of age the great treatise of the Five Sciences (*pāñcavidyās*) are gradually communicated to them. The first Science is Grammar (*Śabda-Vidyā*) which teaches and explains words, and classifies their distinctions".³ In Yi-tsing's (義淨) "*A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (南海寄歸內法傳), it is said: "The *Si-t'ang-chang* (*Siddha* composition) for beginners.—This is also called *Siddhirastu*, signifying 'Be there success' (Ch. lit. 'complete be good luck') for so named is the first section of this small (book of) learning".⁴ Now as the discrimination of sounds was regarded as rudiments to be learnt by children before they were seven and the language itself is suited to the analysis into its phonetic elements, it is small wonder that phonology should have been much more developed in India than in China.

From the time when the Indian culture began to spread into China i.e. towards the end of the Han dynasty, it has exercised a great influence on Chinese philosophy and religion. But it also has had a signal effect on Chinese philology and specially on phonology. In the chapter of bibliography in the *History of the Sui dynasty* (隋書經籍志) it is said: "Since Buddhism prevailed in China from the later Han dynasty, there came the foreign letters of the Western Countries which can represent all vocal sounds with fourteen characters. It is concise and compendious and is called Brahman letters; it differs

2 Cf. Siddheswar Varma's *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, pp. 4-16.

3 Watters—*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, pp. 154-155.

4 Translated by Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, section on the "Method of Learning in the West," pp. 170-171.

altogether from our characters which are divided into the eight styles or six orders". This just shows the sense of difference between the Indian and the Chinese languages. But in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (高僧傳) it is recorded that Sie Ling-yunt (謝靈運) invented the fourteen phonetic symbols under this influence. To my mind the greatest effect of Indian influence on Chinese phonology are exhibited in the invention of three things:

1. Shou-wen's (守溫) Chinese initial system
2. The four divisions of Rime
3. Transliterated Sanskrit texts and the ancient pronunciation of Chinese.

Let us consider them in detail.

II. SHOU-WEN'S CHINESE INITIAL SYSTEM

The thirty six Tseu-mu (字母) or phonetic radicals used by the Chinese phonologists have been attributed by tradition to Shou-wen, a monk of the end of the T'ang dynasty. Little is now known of him. What is left is only the record that he had a book on the thirty-six tseu-mu, found in the *Outline of Bibliography* (藝文略) in Cheng-Ts'iao's *T'ung-che* and Wang Ying-lin's (王應麟) *Yü-hai* (玉海) or Jade Sea. In the Chapter of Bibliography in the History of the Song dynasty (宋史藝文志), it is also recorded that there was a book named *Shou-wen's Key to Surds and Sonants* (守溫清濁韻鈴). These two books are now lost and we can hardly guess at their contents. In the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris there is a manuscript in three fragments, No. 2012 which was discovered by Paul Pelliot in the Caves of Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang. At the commencement of one fragment we have the words "*Written by the Chinese Bhikṣu Shou-wen of Southern Leang*" (南梁漢比丘守溫撰). It also contains the thirty-six tseu-mu arranged in the following order:

唇音 不 芳 並 明

Labials: p, p', b', m

舌音 端 透 定 泥 是 舌 頭 音

Linguals: t, t', d', n' are the sounds on the tip of tongue.

知 徹 澄 日 是 舌 上 音

t, t', d', n are the sounds above the tongue.

牙音 見 [君] 溪 羣 來 疑 等 字 是 也

Gutturals: such as the characters which have the initials k, k, g, l (?), ng

齒音 精清從是齒頭音

Dentals: ts, ts', dz' are the sounds on the tip of teeth.

審穿禪照是正齒音

s', t's', dz', t's are the sounds just on the teeth.

喉音 心邪曉是喉中音清

Glottals: S(?), Z(?), ɣ are the sounds of glottal,

匣喻影是喉中音濁 γ, j, ρ are the sonants of glottal.

The number of tseu-mu and the headings under which they are arranged are much the same as those of the "An Example of the Thirty tseu-mu", a manuscript kept in the British Museum. Only there is some slight difference in the order of arrangement. My studies of these two manuscripts which were published in CYYP. Vol. III, Part 2, have led me to think that Shou-wen could not have lived earlier than the reign of Tai-tsung (代宗) and Tō-tsung (德宗) of the T'ang dynasty. The tseu-mu originally fixed by him were thirty in number. The monks of the Song dynasty added the six tseu-mu 幫 p, 滂 p', 奉 bv', 微 mj, 牀 dz, 娘 n' for the sake of symmetry and changed 不芳 into (非) pf, 敷 pf' with other alterations in classifying the sounds. In this way there came to be thirty-six tseu-mu of the "Rime-tables of the four divisions" of the Song and Yuan dynasties.

This set of tseu-mu, invented by a Buddhist monk, of course owed much to the influence of Indian culture. Some say that it was based on the forty-two letters of the Avataṃśaka-sūtra. Some refer it to the forty-seven letters of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra. But if we compare the thirty-six tseu-mu with those in the two Sūtras, we can see at once that the first opinion is untenable and that the second is quite correct. For the letters in the Avataṃśaka-sūtra ८ ṣṭa श śva, क्ष kṣa, स्त sta, स्थ stha, स्म sma, ह्वा hva, स्क śka, स्य sya and श śca and the like do not bear on Shou-wen's tseu-mu at all which were really derived from the forty-seven letters in the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra adapted to the Chinese phonetic elements. Such sounds as are not found in Sanskrit were supplied from Tibetan. The following table will prove our contention clearly:

1 Sanskrit	2 Tibetan	3 Shou-wen	4 Song, Yuan Rime-tables	5 Mahāparinirvāṇa- Sūtra
ka	ka	見	見	迦
kha	kha	溪	溪	祛
ga	ga			伽
gha	(gha)	羣	羣	伽(重)
ṇa	ṇa	疑	疑	俄
ca	ca	照	照	遮
cha	cha	穿	穿	車
ja	ja			闍
jha	(jha)	禪	牀	闍(重)
ṇa	ṇa	日	日	若
ṭa	(ṭa)	知	知	○
ṭha	(ṭha)	徹	徹	佗
ḍa	(ḍa)			茶
ḍha	(ḍha)	澄	澄	茶(重)
ṇa	(ṇa)		娘	拏
ta	ta	端	端	多
tha	tha	透	透	他
da	da			陀
dha	(dha)	定	定	陀(...)
na	na	泥	泥	那
pa	pa	不	幫	波
pha	pha	芳	滂	頗
ba	ba			婆
bha	(bha)	並	並	婆(重)
ma	ma	明	明	摩
	tsa	精	精	
	ts'a	清	清	
	dza	從	從	
	wa			
ya	ya	喻	喻	邪
	ṣa	禪	禪	
	za	邪	邪	
	ḥa	匣	匣	
ra	ra			囉
la	la	來	來	輕 羅
va	va			和
śa	śa	衆	衆	除

1	2	3	4	5
Sanskrit	Tibetan	Shou-wen	Song, Yuan Rime-tables	Mahāparinirvāṇa- Sūtra
ṣa				沙
sa	sa	心	心	娑
ha	ha	曉	曉	呵
ʼa	ʼa	影	影	阿
			非	
			敷	
			奉	
			微	

On the evidence of the above table we can say that when Shou-wen invented his tseu-mu, he must have classified the characters used in Chinese spelling with reference to the Vyāñjana in Sanskrit. Such sounds as could be found in Sanskrit and Tibetan but were absent in Chinese were of course left out while the sounds that Chinese possess but are wanting in Sanskrit and Tibetan were not supplied. So the Sanskrit *ra*, *va* (Tibetan *wa*) having no equivalents in Chinese were omitted and at the same time the four sets of sounds in the Chinese spelling: 莊 *tʂ*, 初 *tʂʼ* 崇 *qzʼ*, 以 (characters without initial consonant) were subsumed under 照 *tʂ*, 穿 *tʂʼ* 牀 *dʒʼ*, 喻 *j* because there were no equivalents in Sanskrit and Tibetan. However, generally speaking, it is now beyond dispute that Shou-wen's Tseu-mu was modelled on the system of Vyāñjana.

III. RIME-TABLES OF THE FOUR DIVISIONS

The so-called rime-table of the four divisions is the Chinese syllabary modelled on the Indian Siddhirastu. It arranged initials in a perpendicular line and the finals in a horizontal one. As Chinese characters are written from the top to bottom and not from the left to right like Sanskrit, so the table also is arranged in a converse way. They are further divided into four tones according to their difference in pitch accent and into four divisions according to the difference between the open and the close in vowel quality. All these are absent in Sanskrit. Therefore the Chinese rime-table is much more complex than the Siddhirastu.

As to the time when the rime-table was invented, we know nothing definitely. But it could not have been much later than the publication of the Ts'ie-yün (601 A.D.). In the fragments of a T'ang

manuscript of Shou-wen's book on phonology found at Tun-huang there is a passage on the four divisions. The examples adduced there agree with those of the rime-tables of the Song and Yuan dynasties in regard to their method of division.⁵ So it is clear that the classifications of rimes into divisions prevailed even before the time of Shou-wen. Rime-tables have come down to us. They often occur in the bibliography of ancient books. The Buddhist monks had a hand in most of them. For example the *Sseu-sheng-teng-tseu* (四聲等子) or the Division of the Four Tones of the Song dynasty, though not very likely the same book as the *Sseu-sheng-teng-ti-t'u* (四聲等第圖) or the Division of the Four Tones with the tables by the monk Tsong-yen (宗彥) as was supposed by Ch'en Li (陳澧), it was in any case written by a monk. Apart from this, books like Yun-king (韻鏡) or the Mirror of Rime, *Ts'i-yin-leo* (七音略) or an Outline of Seven Vocal Sounds, *Ts'ie-yün-che-chang-t'u* (切韻指掌圖) or the Tables of Spelling and *Ts'ie-yün-che-nan* (切韻指南) or Guide to Spellings have all more or less to do with monks. The Yun-king current in Japan are almost all annotated by monks. And it was by monks too that the older editions of the *Ts'ie-yün-che-nan* were published. Even the chapter in spelling placed in the beginning of the popular *K'ang-hi* (康熙) Dictionary was originally current in book form and called "The Key to Spelling the tseu-mu in the Tripitaka" (大藏字母切韻要法). The frontispiece is the portrait of Buddha and the next page is a Buddhistic hymn. On the third page there is the title: *Ta tsang tseu mu ts'ie yun yao fa* translated by the Indian monk Amaladhi (大藏字母切韻要法天竺沙門阿摩利諦譯). It was after all in such books that the key to spelling is found. So the relation between these books and the monks is still closer. Probably the monks had to drill their tongue in order to read their dhāraṇīs. So they made tables of phonetic elements to facilitate their practice. It was in this way that the tables came to be transmitted. And the people went even so far as "to regard meditation as the major way of self-realisation and the spelling the minor way". The religious flavour was thus enhanced.

5 Cf. *CYYP*, (Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, vol. II, part 2,

IV. TRANSLITERATED SANSKRIT TEXTS AND THE ANCIENT PRONUNCIATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS

Following Abel Rémusat,⁶ Eugène Burnouf,⁷ Stanislas Julien,⁸ Ernest J. Eitel⁹ and Bernhard Karlgren,¹⁰ Baron Alexander von Staël-Holstein, the Russian Sinologist, wrote in 1922 "Transliterated Sanskrit Texts and the Ancient Pronunciation of Chinese Characters"¹¹. An Indian monk called Fa-t'ien (法天) or Dharmadeva who lived and worked at the beginning of the Song dynasty transcribed some short dhāraṇīs as well as longer religious hymns with Chinese characters. The Sanskrit originals of some of his texts have been found. A few texts of which the originals have not yet been discovered had been restored into Sanskrit by Staël-Holstein with the additional help available from Tibetan versions. This restoration enabled Staël-Holstein to compare the Sanskrit and the Chinese of a work called *Kien-chuei-fan-tsan* or *Gaṇḍistotra-gāthā* (轉推梵讚) and with the help of the results arrived at by Bernhard Karlgren he came to the conclusion that the Chinese which Dharmadeva used was the dialect of North-West China at the beginning of the Song dynasty. He expressed the wish that the Chinese scholars should take up the study of other similar transcriptions of Sanskrit texts which may yield more important results than those of Dharmadeva's versions as there are versions made in the kingdom of Wu in the time of the three kingdoms and others which even go back to the time of the Later Han dynasty. Such studies, if taken up in right earnest, will not only benefit the history of Chinese phonology but also the study of the antiquities of India and Eastern Turkestan.

Staël-Holstein's suggestion was not in vain as may be seen from the researches of Wang Jong-pao (汪榮寶). Not long after the publication of Staël-Holstein's paper Wang published his article "On the ancient pronunciation of the characters of the Group 歌戈

6 L'étude des langues étrangères chez les Chinois—*Le Magasin Encyclopedique*, Octobre, 1811.

7 *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, 1852.

8 Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres chinois, 1861.

9 *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, 1904.

10 Prononciation ancienne de Caractères Chinois figurants dans les transcriptions bouddhiques, *T'oung Pao*. XIX, 1920.

11 *KHCK* (Sinological Quarterly, National University of Peking) vol. I, part 1, translated into Chinese by Dr. Hu-shih.

(o) 魚虞 (ü) and 模 (u)" (歌戈魚虞模古讀考).¹² He says in that article: "The Chinese language relies upon the structure of the character and has no phonetic symbols. So it is the more liable to change in regard to its pronunciation. Modern scholars have tried to reconstruct the ancient pronunciation with the help of phonetic compounds and rimes of the classics and have accomplished signal results. But the phonetic compounds and the rimes can carry one no further than marking the differences in the classification of the rimes of the ancient and modern systems. As to how the orders of characters were pronounced in ancient times and wherein they differ from their modern pronunciations the ancient literature can never lead to any certainty. The ancient utterance is beyond recovery and written words are not adequate to render it. So it is only with the aid of external evidences afforded by the phonetic languages that had intercourse with ancient Chinese that the problem can ever be solved. There are two methods to deal with such evidences:

1. To note the pronunciation of phonetic transcriptions of Chinese words in foreign languages.
2. To note the phonetic transcriptions of foreign words in Chinese and find out how the originals were pronounced."

By these methods Mr. Wang proved that before the T'ang and Song dynasties all words that rime with 歌 and 戈 were pronounced not with [o] sound but with [a] sound and that as late as the Wei and Tsin dynasties all characters of 魚虞模 rime were pronounced with [a] sound and not with [u] or [ü] sound. In order to prove his first contention he has adduced the following Sanskrit instances collected from the old texts.

Agada—阿伽陀
Anuttara—阿耨多羅
Amita—阿彌陀
Asoka—阿輸迦
Asura—阿修羅
Kapiñjala—迦頻闍羅
Karpūra—羯布羅
Karmadāna—羯磨陀那
Gada—伽陀
Candra—戰達羅
Cintā—振多
Deva—提婆, 提婆

Dhuta—頭陀
Nilapiṭa (?)—尼羅蔽茶
Panasa—婆那娑
Paramārtha—婆羅末陀
Pāramitā—婆羅密多
Buddha—佛陀
Bodhisattva—菩提薩陲
Brāhmaṇa—婆羅門
Muhūrta—牟呼栗多
Yama—閻魔, 餓摩
Vihāra—毗訶羅
Rāhula—羅睺羅

In order to prove that during the Han and Wei dynasties even characters with (魚虞模) rimes were also pronounced with the [a] sound he has collected the following examples from the old texts :

Buddha 佛陀 or 浮屠, 浮圖
 Upāsaka 優婆塞 or 伊蒲塞
 Māyā-devī 摩耶 or 莫邪
 Pāṇḍurā 賓度羅 or 賓頭盧
 Sinra(?) 新羅 or 新盧

In the current opinion of the scholars, the latter half of Wang's conclusions may yet be disputed, the former half is no more refutable. It is to this skilled use of Sanskrit and Chinese transcriptions of sounds that he owes his achievement. By the same method I have also attained results that have been embodied in the treatise "On the Ancient Pronunciation of the Initials 知徹澄娘" (知徹澄娘古讀考).¹³

The last but not the least, Dr. Hu Shih in his "Preface to the Ts'e-t'ung (辭通) has said: "As one goes through this gigantic work one cannot help regretting one group of important omissions, namely the variations of the Buddhist words and phrases which very frequently trouble readers of Chinese literature and history. The inclusions of various transcriptions of Sanskrit terms in such dictionary would not only greatly enhance its usefulness but also help to familiarise the untrained reader in the phonological principles involved in the vast majority of the troublesome variants of pure Chinese words"¹⁴ This opinion is as important as the pure phonological researches.

In the communion between Indian and Chinese cultures Philology or phonology does not play an important role. But even in this sphere alone, we have successively received much aid from India in course of thousand years from the end of the Han dynasty to the present times, let alone what Indian religion, philosophy and other branches of culture have given us. I am glad to be able to convey this sentiment of gratefulness so far as my special field of studies is concerned just on my arrival in India. I hope that the two nations will not

13 CYYP. vol, III, part 1

14 *Quarterly Bulletin of the Chinese Bibliography* (English edition), vol. I, no. 2,

only maintain the relations that have existed so well through long ages but make them still deeper and more intimate, so that even the philological studies in the both countries will also rise to new heights and fresh splendours through mutual collaboration.

Lo Ch'ang-P'ei

Harivarman on Vaiśāradya

The only treatise of Harivarman known to us through its Chinese translation¹ of Kumārajīva is the *Tattva-siddhi*² (成實論). The author³ is believed to be a pupil of Kumāralāta or Kumāralabdha of the Sarvāstivāda school. According to Hiuan-tsang, Kumāralāta was a follower of Sautrāntika. As Harivarman was a disciple of the latter, we naturally expect that he had been faithfully expounding in his treatise, the *Tattvasiddhi*, the Buddhist tenets from his teacher's viewpoint which was Sarvāstivāda or Sautrāntika. We shall try in course of our study of the treatise to discover whether he was really a Sarvāstivādin or a Sautrāntika and to ascertain in what other respects he has enriched the Buddhist philosophical dogma. In this paper I propose to discuss only one point which is of great interest viz. the doctrine of *Vaiśāradya* which is the most important of all the characteristics of the Buddha. The *Vaiśāradya*,⁴ or fearlessness (無所畏) is of four kinds and is described in almost all the Buddhist works, whether Pali or Sanskrit, along with *Daśabala* or the ten kinds of the spiritual force of the Tathāgata. But nowhere do we find a satisfactory exposition of the *vaiśāradya* and as to how it could be distinguished from the category of *daśabala*.

Harivarman has devoted one section of the *Tattvasiddhi* to this subject in order to bring out the difference between the *vaiśāradya* and the *daśabala*. It is the third section of the treatise. While maintaining the superiority of Buddha to all other religious teachers of India he describes in details the sublime qualities of the teacher such as the supramundane groups (*loṇottara*) of merits, spiritual force, fearlessness, etc. To an objection why Buddha alone is to be worshipped and not other teachers, the author says that though Buddha was only a man, yet he surpassed all other men and gods by acquiring numerous

1 Kumārajīva's translation was started in 411 and completed in 412 A.D. Cf. P. C. Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique*, I, p. 198.

2 *Satyasiddhi* is the title adopted by B. Nanjio and others following him but I prefer to put it as *Tattvasiddhi* according to Prof. Tucci's suggestion.

3 His date is fixed as 260-270 A.D. by H. Ui in his *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, p. 43.

4 This term has been translated variously into English as "subject of confidence" etc. I have translated it as "fearlessness" in accordance with its Chinese translation.

extraordinary merits and by fulfilling meritorious acts. So he is above all of them and is to be worshipped. It is clear from this statement that the author does not consider Buddha as god or some such super-human being, though he is prepared to appreciate his greatness and pay him homage that is due to a god. This clearly shows that the author had not been a follower of Mahāyāna but of some old school of Buddhism which regarded Buddha as only a man and a man of sublime qualities.

In course of explaining the *vaiśāradya*, the author puts an equal stress on both aspects of Buddha's life, the self-interest aspect (*svārtha*) and the other-interest one (*parārtha*). It is generally believed that the Śrāvakayāna, the early school of Buddhism, puts a greater stress on the *svārtha* aspect than on the other. In the Mahāyāna both are equally stressed while in the later stage, the Tantrayāna, the *parārtha* is more stressed than the *svārtha*.⁵ It now appears that these two aspects were held equally important as in the Mahāyāna, in an earlier school of Buddhism like the Sautrāntika and the Sarvāstivāda.

Let us now see what the author says in regard to this particular aspect of Buddha, viz. the *vaiśāradya*. He says: there are four kinds of fearlessness acquired by the Tathāgata.—(i) omniscience, (ii) destruction of all defiling elements, (iii) preaching the obstacles in the way of realising the path, (iv) preaching of the path for the destruction of misery. One may say that all these types of fearlessness are only Buddha's personal qualities (conducting to his own benefit). Here we have to remark that it is not so. The first type, omniscience is constituted of the (first) nine kinds of spiritual force and the second type of the tenth force (*bala*). By virtue of the possession of these two qualities, the Tathāgata is in possession of the personal quality conducting to the benefit of his own self. The last two kinds of fearlessness are the qualities by which the Tathāgata makes others possess the same (qualities) as himself.

Here the opponent asks: You say that the types of fearlessness are no other than the types of spiritual force (*bala*). What then is the element that helps a distinction between them? The author replies: Knowledge is regarded as the spiritual force; because of this force the Tathāgata acquires what can be acquired. (Ordinary) people, because they are bereft of any sense of shame are abundantly possessed of what would be acquired freely and limitlessly. But the Tathāgata

5 Cf. *Bhavasankrānti-sūtra* edited by me, Introduction p. xxxv.

acquires what would be acquired from his supreme knowledge. Because of this knowledge and fearlessness from anybody else, he is designated "fearless." Why? Because though others are in possession of the knowledge, they are not free from fear. The supreme knowledge is regarded as the spiritual force and the skilfulness in preaching is named fearlessness. Others, though possessed of knowledge, do not possess skilfulness in preaching. Again *vaiśāradya* is a quality which distinguishes Buddha from others. The latter are in possession of knowledge but are devoid of the distinguishing character. The inexhaustible knowledge is called *bala*, whereas inexhaustible *prati-bhāṇa*, skilfulness in debate is *vaiśāradya*. Again his preaching is deeply merged in its sense, so it is called *bala* whereas his paramount supremacy (*vaśitā*) in preaching forms *vaiśāradya*. *Bala* is the cause and *vaiśāradya* is its effect because the latter follows from the midst of knowledge. Some person being terrified of birth is capable of gaining a little knowledge and becoming fearless. How much more so in the case of the Blessed One who has for a very long time trained and widened his heart and obtained omniscience? Would he be caught into fear? A person is afraid of others for not possessing any distinguishing character. There is nobody whom Buddha has not surpassed, so Buddha is characterised by fearlessness.

The person who has a true scripture, skilfulness in terminology and realises its true meaning is called fearless. This person is only Buddha. He is skilful in realising the true meaning because he has obtained omniscience. He is skilful in terminology because he has obtained advocacy in the etymology of the words (*nirukṭi*). Some person by losing truth may become timid, but the Tathāgata having obtained omniscience, has fully penetrated into the truth of all things. Because he has fully and perfectly understood the true meaning of all the Śāstras and has elucidated all the questions and counter-questions in the entire Sūtra works⁶ he has become fearless. Again some person being deficient with regard to either family, parentage, complexion, virtue, learning or wisdom, gains a faulty scripture. But the Tathāgata being perfectly well in possession of the group of those qualities becomes fearless.

The person who argues in perfect accordance with truth cannot be disturbed and defeated; this person is only Buddha. The Brahmin

⁶ If we accept this interpretation as correct this passage would certainly prove the author's predilection for Sautrāntika doctrine.

Āśuri (阿叔羅 A-shu-lo) said to Budha: The person who argues by following the truth can hardly be overcome and disturbed. It is the same with the persons arguing on the basis of right path and with the support of the true source of knowledge and strict logic. And again the person fully equipped with four kinds of debating art (*vādadharma*) can hardly be surpassed. The four kinds of debating art are:

- (i) to equip oneself with the right grasp (of the truth).
- (ii) to discriminate what is true reason and what is false,
- (iii) to supply illustrations.
- (iv) to pass on actually in the art of debate.

Buddha, fully equipped with these further kinds of debating art, is capable of overcoming men and gods and hence he is fearless. Moreover a person not being properly trained and instructed under a good teacher can easily be overcome. But the Tathāgata being already trained and instructed in the art of debate under innumerable Buddhas, Dīpaṃkara and others, cannot be overcome.

There being two truths, the worldly truth (*sāmvṛtika*) and the absolute one (*pāramārthika*), the wise men never quarrel with the ordinary ignorant people and hence cannot be overcome. Buddha does not quarrel with worldly persons. If the world says that there exists Buddha (after Nirvāṇa), he exists even in the ordinary parlance; if it says that Buddha does not exist (after Nirvāṇa) he does not exist even in the common parlance. So he has no quarrel with it and cannot be surpassed.

There are two kinds of scriptures: true scripture and false scripture. Other teachers have given many false scriptures. Buddha alone is in possession of good scripture and hence he cannot be surpassed. Again Buddha has kept up his acts pure in accordance with the law, and so his scripture is also pure. The scriptures of the Tīrthikaṣ are endowed with false causes and not with the right ones and hence they are unable to overcome their opponents. Moreover the Tathāgata has obtained supreme knowledge unconcealed with the veil of any obstructing elements and deeply penetrated into all *dharma*s. Hence he becomes fearless.

Men of small wit cannot understand what the great person has conceived. The great person, however, can fully grasp the intellect of small men. Buddha being superior to all living beings understands fully well the scriptures of inferior persons and hence he is fearless. The scriptures of the Tīrthikaṣ are products of wrong views, whereas the knowledge of Buddha perceives dependent origination: understand-

ing the cause of misery, realising its destruction, testing and finding out its defect and realising the final release. The Tirthikas are incapable of realising the destruction of miseries (*nirodha-satya*), therefore their scriptures are disputable, whereas Buddha has obtained supreme knowledge of all the *dharma*s in every aspect and is capable of overcoming all other scriptures but never of being overcome by other scriptures. So he alone is fearless. These and others are conditions aiding to distinguish the fearlessness (*vaiśāradya*) from the spiritual force (*bala*) of Buddha.

Somebody puts this question: Buddha is absolutely fearless from each and every *dharma*. Why should there be only four kinds of fearlessness? The author replies: The four kinds are stated briefly in order to include all the types of fearlessness. The first pair pertains to his own knowledge i.e. omniscience and final destruction of misery; the last pair is connected with his preaching to others the elements concealing the path and to his preaching the path of final destruction of misery. Thus the teacher and pupil are provided with perfect wisdom and final destruction. Therefore all other types of fearlessness, are briefly to be included thereunder.

The opponent says: the people suspect that Buddha is not an omniscient person. Yes, remarks the author; there are sayings which appear to be utterances of an ignorant person. Buddha, for example, sometimes asks: Where do you come from? and the like. So also it is stated in a *Sūtra*: Suppose some person goes to a town and asks people there the name of the city, I would not call him all-knower. The persons who read and hear such sayings would naturally think that Buddha is not an omniscient being. There are other sayings which would make people think that Buddha is sometimes greedy, sometimes haughty, sometimes proud and sometimes a man of uneradicated defiling elements and so on. In reply to these objections the author says Buddha follows the customary usages of the world. The worldly persons possess some intellect and the questioner cannot be blamed. Buddha, too, staying in the world observes all worldly usages, questioning and answering. The worldly man, though really devoid of greed behaves as though he is greedy. Similarly Buddha also utters such words apparently, because he is bent upon doing good to all living beings.

Thus the *Tathāgata* being adorned with four kinds of fearlessness deserves our homage by all means.

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI

Bodhisattva-śīla of Śubhākarasimha

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the extent of the entire Buddhist literature in Chinese it is difficult to find information on the personal activities of the Indian teachers who had worked in China. Besides translating Indian texts into Chinese, the most important of the teachers must have been engaged in teaching the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism but there is almost no information on this aspect of their activities. The text studied here, the *Wu wei san tsang ch'an yao* (無畏三藏禪要) however forms a solitary exception. It is a collection of the teachings of an eminent Indian teacher, Śubhākarasimha, who had been to China in the beginning of the 8th century. The text is found in the standard collections of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (Tokyo XXV, 1, Shanghai XXV, 1; Taisho 917). As it was not included in the Ming Tripiṭaka there is no mention of it in the Catalogue of Nanjio.

In the preface of the Chinese text, Śubhākara is simply described as a "teacher of Tripiṭaka of the Veṇuvanavihāra of Nālandā in the city of Rājagṛha of the country of Magadha in Central India." He belonged to a noble family of the Kṣatriya race. More complete accounts of Śubhākara's life are found in the ancient catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka and in the *Song kao seng chuan*. These accounts have been summarised in my *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine* II (pp. 561 ff.). In all these accounts the name of Śubhākarasimha is transcribed either as *Shu-p'o-kia-lo-seng-ho* (戌婆揭羅僧-) or as *Shu-p'o-kia-lo* (輸波迦羅). The name is translated into Chinese either as *Tsing she-tseu* (淨師干)—"pure lion" or as *Shan wu wei* (善無畏)—"good fearless." This last form of the name is often abridged as *Wu-wei san tsang* (無畏三藏) and this is the name that occurs in the text under consideration.

Śubhākarasimha was, according to all accounts a descendant of Amṛtodana, the uncle of Śākyamuni Buddha. After ordination he first settled in the Nālandā monastery where he made a profound study of the Buddhist texts. He then decided to go to foreign lands in order to preach the law of Buddha abroad. After leaving India he first travelled in the country of the Eastern Barbarians (東夏). When he reached the frontier of China an official invitation was

sent to him requesting him to proceed to the capital. He reached Ch'ang-ngan (Si-ngan-fu) in 716 A.D. He had with him a collection of manuscripts of Buddhist texts.

He first resided in the monastery of Hing-fu sse (興福寺) and then removed to the Si-ming sse (西明寺) at the imperial order. It was here that he translated some of his texts into Chinese in 717 A.D. The Śramaṇa Si ta (Siddha?) who was evidently of Indian origin acted as interpreter. Śubhākara followed the Emperor to Lo-yang in 724 A.D., and settled in the monastery of Ta-fu-sien sse (大福先寺). Here also he translated a few more works into Chinese. He died at Lo-yang in 735 A.D., at the age of 99 and was subsequently buried at Long-men. Śubhākara was therefore born in 636 A.D., during the reign of Emperor Harṣavardhana. It is not impossible that he had seen in his boyhood the famous Chinese pilgrim, Hiuan-tsang, either while he was residing in Nālandā or passing through Magadha. At least he had heard of him by reputation during his own residence at Nālandā.

Most of the texts translated by Śubhākara into Chinese belongs to the mystic school of Mahāyāna that is generally known as Vajrayāna. These are either dhāraṇīs or texts on mystic maṇḍalas and mudrās employed for the worship of Mahāvairocana and other Buddhas. In fact Śubhākara was the first to introduce the teachings of this school in China in a systematic manner. He along with Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra are considered to be "the three great teachers of Tantrik Buddhism in China" of the K'ai-yuan period (713-741). They founded the first school of Tantrik Buddhism in that country (*Sino-Indian Studies*, I, 2, p. 86).

The title of the present text *Wu wei san tsang ch'an yao* means "The essentials of dhyāna (as taught) by the teacher of Tripiṭaka, Śubhākara". In the preface of the text it is said to be an abridgement of the essential doctrines of the Mahāyāna as taught by Śubhākara. It was compiled by a dhyāna teacher of Hui-shan sse of Song-shan named King-hien (敬賢). The latter had a discussion with Śubhākara and evidently took notes which were published later on. The colophon of the text however says that it was the dhyāna teacher Hui-king (慧警) of Si-ming sse (西明寺) in the capital (i.e. Ch'ang-ngan) who first collected it.

About King-hien of Song-shan I have not been able to collect any information. There is however mention of one Hui-king in the *Song kao seng chuan* (k. 24). It is said there that Hui-king was a monk of

the Ch'ong-fu sse (崇福寺) in T'ai-yuan fu (太原府). He translated the *Ta yun king* (大雲經)—*Mahāmegha-sūtra*. There is mention of an Empress in the Sūtra. When the Empress T'ien-hou (天后) came to know about it she was much moved and paid great tribute to the translator. Hui-king learnt to recite holy texts at the age of three. When the Emperor saw it, he patted him on the back and gave him a *kaṣāya*. Later on Hui-king became a monk and established himself in his own monastery. He was widely respected and feared by the Buddhist monks for his severity in regard to those who were guilty of the breach of Buddhist monastic discipline. In his later life Hui-king gave himself to the practice of the law of dhyāna and attained much success in that line. He died when he was more than 80 years old.

The above account gives us an idea of the time when Hui-king lived. He was a contemporary of the Empress T'ien-hou (684-706 A.D.) He had received the *kaṣāya* in his infancy from the Emperor who was evidently Emperor Kao-tsung (650-683 A.D.). Even if we suppose that he was 20 years old when the Emperor died, he must have lived up to 743 A.D. and was thus able to establish personal contact with Śubhākara during the latter's residence in the Si-ming sse at Ch'ang-ngan. Śubhākara was at Ch'ang-ngan between 716 and 724 A.D. when he shifted to Lo-yang. Hui-king was therefore about 60 years old when he met Śubhākara and it was probably under the latter's influence that he took to the practice of dhyāna. The biographical notice on him clearly says that he took to this practice in the latter part of his life.

It is thus possible to believe that Hui-king who was originally a monk of Ch'ong-fu sse of T'ai-yuan fu had been attracted to the Si-ming sse by the reputation of Śubhākara a few years after the latter's arrival there and had found the notes taken a few years earlier by King-hien of the oral teaching of Śubhākara. These notes were edited by Hui-king and they constitute the present text. We have therefore reason to believe that these were authentic notes of the oral teachings of the famous Indian teacher.

As the preface would have us believe the text contains the essentials of the teachings on Mahāyāna. But it is Mahāyāna in the most comprehensive sense. A study of the text will show that it contains teachings of the Mahāyāna not only in the general sense of the term but also in its special sense. I have therefore divided the text into three broad divisions:

- I. *Bodhisattva-śīla*
- II. *Anāsrava-dharma-śīla* ; the practice of *dhyāna*, *dhāraṇī* and *mudrā*.
- III. Breathing exercises as an expedient for the attainment of *Samādhi*.

I

Bodhisattva-śīla

The first part of the text deals with *Bodhisattva-śīla*. These contain the rules essential for initiation to the Mahāyāna. A text entitled *Bodhisattva-Prātimokṣa-sūtra* containing such rules was published by Dr. N. Dutt in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Vol. VII, 2). The first part of the text, as noticed by Dr. Dutt, is a sort of manual of ordination and contains an enumeration of seven different rites: (i) *Yācanā*, entreating a *Bodhisattva* for initiation, (ii) *Pāpadeśanā*, enquiry whether sins have been committed or not, (iii) *Śaraṇagamana* taking refuge in Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, (iv) *Parīṇāmanā*—offering one's own merits to all beings for the sake of Bodhi, (v) *Bodhicittotpāda*—awakening of the bodhi mind, (vi) *Ācārayābhīṣeka*—selection of an Ācārya and (vii) *Vijñapti*—announcement. The same fundamental rules are found in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva and have been enumerated by Dr. Dutt—(i) *Vandanā* and *Pujanā*, (ii) *Śaraṇagamana*, (iii) *Anumodanā*—expressions of approval of others' merits, (iv) *Yācanā* or *Adhyeśanā*—entreating Buddha to be the guide of all beings, (v) *Parīṇāmanā* and (vi)—*Bodhicittotpāda* (*Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism*, pp. 302-5). The differences between the two lists are minor.

Among the late compendiums Dr. Dutt has also referred to the *Kriyāsaṃgraha-pañjikā* of Kuladatta of which there is a detailed notice by Dr. H. P. Shastri in his *Catalogue of the Buddhist Manuscripts of the Government Collection in R.A.S.B.* (pp. 123-6). I have quoted the principal rules at the end of this study from the said notice of Dr. H. P. Shastri. The principal rules occur there as: (i) *Śaraṇagamana* (ii) *Pañca Śikṣāpada*, (iii) *Yācanā* or *Adhyeśanā* (iv) *Daśa Śikṣāpada*, (v) Rules regarding robe, bowl etc., (vi) Observance of rules regarding: *śīla*, *saṃādhi*, *prajñā*, *vimukti* and *vimukti-jñāna-darśana*. These rules, as has been pointed out by Dr. Dutt have been borrowed from the Hīnayānic rules of ordination and have nothing specially Mahāyānic in character.

In fact they are enumerated as such in another Mahāyāna compendium which is entitled *Kriyāsamuccaya* which is as much used in Nepal as the *Pañjikā* of Kuladatta. The *Kriyāsamuccaya* may be later than the work of Kuladatta by about one hundred years. It contains a section called *Poṣadhavidhi* (pp. 138-193, of the manuscript in my possession) which corresponds word for word with the first part of the *Bodhisattva-Prātimokṣasūtra* published by Dr. Dutt. I have reproduced the text at the end for facilitating a comparison with the text published by Dr. Dutt. The author of the *Kriyāsamuccaya* thus frankly admits that it is a *Poṣadhavidhi*, as current among the Hinayāna schools and have no Mahāyāna character. The rules enumerated in it are almost the same as those of the *Kriyāsaṃgraha*.

The followers of Mahāyāna always admitted the necessity of primary initiation according to the rules prescribed for the Hinayāna or Śrāvakayāna. Such initiation once received, the question arose whether one should go higher up the ladder. Rules of this higher spiritual discipline constitute the real *Bodhisattva-śīla* or *Bodhisattva-Prātimokṣa*. In this respect the text under consideration is a more comprehensive manual than the other works noticed above.

In the first section are narrated the ordinary rules that are found in the *Poṣadha-vidhi* and the *Bodhisattva-Prātimokṣa* mentioned above. This section has much in common with the Hinayāna rules of ordination. For the facility of comparison I have quoted the corresponding Sanskrit texts *in extenso* from the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* and the *Kriyāsamuccaya* at the end. This section contains the following eleven items:

I. *Cittānuśīlaṇa* or the cultivation of the mind. It amounts to mental preparation of the candidate for initiation. The candidate first entreats all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other great personages for help in the matter. This corresponds to *Yācanā* of other texts..

II. *Pūjā*—the candidate then worships the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and great personages for help in the matter of initiation. This is not separately mentioned in other sources and seems to have been a part of *Yācanā*.

III. *Anuśocanā*—the candidate is then required to repent for the various kinds of sins committed by him and seek the protection of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas against further commission of such sins. This is not mentioned in other sources.

IV. *Śaraṇagamana*—The candidate then takes refuge in the three

jewels,—Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. Here there is a departure from the Hinayāna conception of three jewels as the candidate takes refuge in: (i) *tri-kāya* of the Tathāgata, (ii) *vaipulya-mahāyāna-dharma* and (iii) *avaivarttika-saṅgha*. In the other texts mentioned above there is provision for *Śaraṇagamana* but in the Hinayāna sense of the term.

V. *Bodhicittānuśīlana*—cultivation of the Bodhicitta. This occurs in all the sources as it is the most important of all Bodhisattva-śīlas. The candidate is required to take the vow that he will go on cultivating the Bodhicitta so long as he does not attain the Bodhi knowledge.

VI. *Pāpadeśanā*—is the same as found in the other texts. The candidate has to be first questioned by the teacher whether he has committed the seven grave offences viz. killing a Buddha, killing the Arhats, killing the Upādhyāyas and Ācāryas and destroying the unity of the Saṅgha. If the teacher is satisfied that the candidate is immune from such offences then he may give him ordination.

VII. *Ācāryābhīṣeka*—it is not the selection of Ācārya in the Hinayāna sense. The candidate invites Buddha Śākyamuni to be his Upādhyāya, Mañjuśrī to be the Karmācārya, and all Bodhisattvas and Mahāsattvas to be his fellow students.

VIII. *Karma*—it does not occur in the other texts as a separate item. In the present text it consists of the observance of three kinds of śīlas—*saṃvara-śīla*, *kuśala śīla* and *sattvārtha-kriyā-śīla*. These three kinds of śīlas are mentioned in the other texts and specially discussed in the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*. Dr. Dutt (*ibid*) has explained these terms with the help of the last mentioned work. *Saṃvara-śīla* are the disciplinary rules for the Bodhisattvas and are to be practised by all candidates for Bodhisattvahood. *Kuśala-śīla*, also called *Kuśaladharma-saṅgrāhaka-śīla* consists of study, contemplation, meditation, insight (*śamathā*, *cittaiḥgratā*, *samādhi*, *vipaśyanā*) etc. which a candidate practises after being established in śīla. *Sattvānugrahaśīla* are eleven kinds of śīlas to be practised for the benefit of others such as helping all beings in their various useful works, helping them in their sufferings from disease etc., warning persons through religious discourses and so forth.

IX. *Simābandha*—this does not occur in other sources. It is not quite clear what it really means. It is explained in the text as simply a warning from the teacher to keep the three śīlas of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas so long as one does not attain the highest Bodhi.

X. *The practice of the four adhiṣṭhānas*—the four *adhiṣṭhāna-dharmas* as enumerated in the text are : *priyavāditā, dānaṃ, artha-caryā* and *samārthatā*. These are the same as found in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*. They are not mentioned in the other sources.

XI. *The ten important śīlas* seem to be more or less the same as the *Mūlāpattis* and *Sthūlāpattis* described in later literatures. The number of the *Mūlāpattis* is given as fourteen and that of the *Sthūlāpattis* as eight in the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha* (ed. by H. P. Shastri, p. 13). They are also mentioned in the *Kriyāsamuccaya* (fol. 163 of my mss.) sometimes under more correct forms. The ten injunctions of Śubhākara may be compared with the *Āpattis*.

- (1) Not to turn down the Bodhicitta cf. *Mūlāpatti* no. 5—*bodhicitta-parityāga*.
- (2) Not to abandon the three jewels, cf. *Mūla*. no. 2—*sugatājñā-vīlāṃghana*.
- (3) Not to speak ill of the three jewels cf. *Mūla*, no. 6—*yānatritaya-nindane*.
- (4) Not to have doubts as to the meaning of the *Mahāyāna-sūtras* cf. *Mūla*. no. 9—*śuddhātma-dharma-sandeha*-(*Kriyāsamuccaya* : *svabhāva-śuddhadharmeṣu vicikitsā*).
- (5-6) Not to speak such laws as may drive others to the two yānas, i.e. Śrāvaka and Pratyeka-Buddha-yānas, cf. *Sthūlāpatti* nos. 5—*yaḥ śrāddheṣu sattveṣu guhyadharmarateṣu ca viparītaṃ samākhyātam*, nos. 6 and 8 of the *Sthūlāpattis* are also similar—there are prohibitions of not to live with the Śrāvakas even for a week and not to divulge the true law to those who are attached to other laws.
- (7) Not to speak of the highest and excellent Mahāyāna before those who follow the Hīnayāna, cf. *Sthūlāpatti* no. 4—*guhyadharmāṃ yadā duṣṭa na gopayati naṣṭadhiḥ(?)*, *Mūlāpatti* no. 7—*guhyākhyāne jane pakṣe* (*Kriyā*, *aparivārīta-sattveṣu guhyākhyāna*).
- (8) Not to cultivate wrong views, cf. *Mūlāpatti* no. 8 & 11—*jinātmaśāṅkhandha-dūṣaṇe, dharmeṣvānadvayārope*.
- (9) Not to speak before the Tīrthikas that you keep the excellent śīla for the highest bodhi, cf. *Mūlāpatti* no. 7—referred to above.
- (10) Not to do anything injurious to living beings, cf. *Mūlāpatti* no. 4—*maḥāmaitrī-vivarjana*.

The agreement between the injunctions of Śubhākara and the—

āpattis is very close in many cases. But it is probable that the—*āpattis* had not been formulated in the time of Śubhākara in the form we get them in the later compendiums. The fourteen *Mūlāpattis* and the eight *Sthūlāpattis* in their present forms were conceived later than the eighth century.

With the enumeration of the ten injunctions the section of Bodhisattva-śīla proper comes to an end. Śubhākara then deals with other practices of Mahāyāna that properly belong to the domain of Vajrayāna or Tantrayāna.

II

Anāsrava-dharma-śīla

In the next section Śubhākara teaches the mystic upāya by which one may quickly attain Bodhi knowledge. He calls it *anāsrava-dharma-śīla*. It is also called the śīla of the true law (*satya-dharma-śīla*). It consists of the practice of *dhyāna*, *dhāraṇī* and *mudrā*. The *dhāraṇīs* are to be recited after entering the *dhyāna* at different stages. The *dhāraṇīs* prescribed by Śubhākara are five in number of which the intermediate three are the most important as by practising them one may realise the Bodhicitta, attain the Bodhi knowledge and enter the mystic maṇḍala respectively. The *dhāraṇīs* are to be recited three times each. If they are recited for a greater number of times the result comes more quickly.

The practice of *dhyāna* and *mudrā* is essential for the attainment of *samādhi*. These are to be practised in a solitary place where the mind is not disturbed by the external things. The *mudrā* to be employed is explained by Śubhākara by symbolical terms. The words for the *pāramitās* stand for the various fingers. This is a practice commonly current in the Tantrik schools. The right hand is called puṇya (福) and the left jñāna (智). The fingers of the right hand beginning with the thumb are respectively called—*dhyāna* (禪), *vīrya* (進), *kṣānti* (忍), *śīla* (戒) and *dāna* (施), and those of the left hand in the same order are *jñāna* (智), *bala* (力) *praṇidhāna* (願), *upāya* (方) and *prajñā* (慧). These are also enumerated in the same way in the ordinary Chinese Buddhist compilations (cf. 瑜伽餞口, published by the Sanghai Buddhist Text Publication House). Śubhākara recommends that the *mudrā* is to be made in seven different places in the upper part of the body. After making the *mudrā* one should repeat the *dhāraṇīs* on the

rosary as many times as possible in one sitting. If one can tell them up to one hundred thousand times then various kinds of spiritual powers may be quickly attained. As regards the sitting posture Śubhākara is in agreement with the earlier Yoga-śāstras. He does not believe in sitting in postures that are painful. One should sit, according to him, in an easy pose, the best way being to sit with legs half-crossed. It is reasonable to believe, on Śubhākara's evidence, that the various complicated methods of sitting (āsana) had not yet come into use. Śubhākara also gives other details of the practice of dhyāna. The eyes, he says, should not be either fully closed or kept fully open as both the practices are bad for attaining concentration of mind. The eyes should be kept, according to him, half shut. That this was the common practice among the yogis is also corroborated by other texts as well as old sculptural representations of Buddha and other famous religious teachers. The object of dhyāna, according to Śubhākara, is Buddha. But it is not the historical Buddha but all Buddhas in ten directions in the Dharmadhātu. The dharmadhātu is no longer an empty region but a world which is filled with innumerable Buddhas, Bodhisattvas etc. One has to approach all these Buddhas in dhyāna and offer them worship in order to acquire their help and blessing in his upward march. This practice leads to the complete purification of the mind and the ultimate attainment of samādhi.

III

Breathing exercises and other practices

In the last part of the text, Śubhākara gives instruction on the breathing exercises and other expedients for the attainment of samādhi. That the breathing exercises were current among the Buddhist from the very earliest times can be seen from the various teachings on *ānapāna*. The Chinese translations of some of these *Ānapāna-sūtras* go back to the second century and are attributed to Ngan She-kao. We will deal with one of these ancient texts in a future article. Śubhākara's method of breathing exercise is very simple. He says: "First think of breathing in and breathing out. It must go inside our body through all the joints and muscles. Afterwards it goes out slowly through the mouth...One should follow the distance it goes. It again slowly comes in through the nose.

It goes to the joints and muscles all over the body. It is then allowed to go out and comes in three times." This is needed according to Śubhākara for keeping the body fit. If one takes this exercise the body is not affected either by cold, heat or wind. Such a condition of the body is needed for the attainment of samādhi. In course of the breathing exercise the breath stops at a certain moment and different kinds of thoughts both *kuśala* and *aḥśala*, arise in the mind. The *aḥśala* thoughts are to be avoided as they are the cause of fear to the yogin. The *kuśala* thoughts should be retained as they help in attaining *samyak smṛti* and purity of mind.

Śubhākara describes another peculiar practice which I have not been able to find elsewhere. It is a means of attaining concentration of mind and samādhi. Śubhākara describes it in the following words :

"At a quiet place make the ground level and clean. Its surface should have a length of 25 cubits. Erect two posts at the two ends. Pass a rope through them and attach it to the two ends. It is hung high up to the chest. Hold the rope by means of a bamboo tube which is big enough to be held in the hands. Turn the bamboo tube with the sun on the right. Go and come in a balanced way. The mind, quite composed, sees in the front up to 6 feet."

Although the Chinese text seems to be clear enough I have not been able to understand in what this peculiar practice consisted. It looks like dancing on the rope for which one must hold a bamboo in the hands in order to keep the balance.

Śubhākara also prescribes another means for attaining samādhi. It is a mental exercise which is described in the following words :

"Imagine a bright disc like the clear moon at a distance of four feet from the body, direct in front neither high nor low. It measures one cubit and is completely circular. Its colour is bright, it is shining both inside and outside and is without a like. At first you will not be able to get a long view of it but if you try attentively you will get it. After searching you can have a large view of it. Then you will find its expansion increasing up to four feet, or double that size or becoming as big as to fill up the *tri-sāhasra-mahāsāhasra* worlds."

Śubhākara also gives an explanation why this practice is helpful in the attainment of samādhi. The moon is composed of four elements and is bright. So it is compared with the intellect which has the same characteristics. Śubhākara probably means to say that

concentration of the mind on the brightness of the moon outside leads to the attainment of an identity between the two, the mind and the moon and an ultimate projection of the mental faculties. The result is: "Then you see only brightness and nothing else, not even the body and the mind. All dharmas are lost in emptiness.." Śubhākara says that this emptiness should not be taken in the ordinary sense. It means "absence of thought" or *āyatana-sūnyatā* and not vacuity.

These are some of the peculiar practices which Śubhākara teaches. According to him *samādhi* is *nirvikalpa-dharma*. The Buddhas as well as the lowest creatures are all the same. It is only the bad thoughts which cover them with *avidyā* and *viṣaya*. This is the reason of their floating in the world of transmigration and becoming subject to birth and death. The state of *samādhi* is free from this *avidyā*. In this regard Śubhākara repeats the fundamental teachings of Buddhism. He also mentions several kinds of *samādhis* and *bhūmis* or stages of spiritual progress. He states in this regard that a practised mind has five different aspects: (i) *kṣaṇa-citta*, (ii) *srotāpanna-citta* (iii) *madhura-citta*, (iv) *vidhvaṃsana-vikṣipta-citta*, (v) *ādarśa-citta*. These indicate different capacities of the mind for realisation of the truth.

On the whole the teachings of Śubhākara as embodied in the present text offer a complete practical code of the Mahāyānists of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. They indicate the peculiar mystic bent of the faith that was developing in that period. As such the text supplies us with an important landmark in the development of the Mahāyāna Buddhism.

TRANSLATION

Wu wei san tsang ch'an yao

[1]

Śubhākara was a Śramaṇa, the teacher of Tripiṭaka of the Veṇuvanavihāra (竹林寺) at Nālandā in the city of Rājagṛha of the country of Magadha in Central India. His name is translated in the T'ang language (i.e. Chinese) as Shan wu wei (善無畏)-"good fearless." He belonged to a rich and noble family of the Kṣatriya race. He discussed the law of Buddha with the Venerable Dhyāna teacher of the monastery of Hui shan sse (會善寺) of Song-shan (嵩岳), the Ho-shang King-hien (敬賢). He abridged the essential doctrines (旨要) of Mahāyāna which quickly open the mind so that all beings quickly realise the law. He received the Karmavidhi of the Bodhisattvaśīla which is as follows:

He who wants to enter the Mahāyāna must first of all cultivate the excellent bodhicitta, observe the Bodhisattvaśīla and keep the body-vessel (*deha-bhāṇḍa* 身器) pure. Then he can receive the law. Briefly speaking it is of eleven kinds:

- i. *Cittānuśīlana*, the cultivation of the mind (發心).
- ii. *Pūjā*, worship (供養).
- iii. *Anuśocanā*, repentance (懺悔).
- iv. *Śaraṇagamana*, taking refuge (歸依).
- v. *Bodhicittānuśīlana*, cultivation of Bodhicitta (發菩提心).
- vi. *Pāpadeśanā*—Enquiry whether sins have been committed or not (問遮難).
- vii. *Ācāryābhiṣeka*—choosing the *Ācārya* (請師).
- viii. *Karmavācā* (羯磨).
- ix. *Śīmābandha* (結界).
- x. The practice of four *adhiṣṭhāna dharmas* (修四攝).
- xi. The ten important śīlas (十重戒 *Mūlāpatti*?).

I. *Cittānuśīlana*—I, disciple so and so take refuge in all Buddhas, great Bodhisattvas and great Bodhi minds in ten directions. We make them our guide. May they save us from falling in the evil existence and show the men and gods the great road to nirvāṇa. So we worship them to-day with great attention.

II. *Pūjā*—We disciples so and so worship all the Buddhas, great Bodhisattvas and the great Bodhi minds with all that is best in the world in the ten directions and with fragrant incense, flowers, banners and different kinds of good things. We now cultivate the mind for all times to come and worship with full attention.¹

III. *Anuśocanā*—I disciple so and so (realise) that from the past without beginning till to-day all beings have been suffering from misery (*kṛeṣa*, 煩惱) such as greed, anger, ignorance, hatred etc. The miseries much disturb the body and mind and make us commit all kinds of sins. The deeds of the body which are not good (*akuśala*) are killing, robbing and committing sexual offence. The deeds of the speech which are not good are telling lies, using bad words and practising duplicity. The deeds of the mind that are not good are greediness, anger and holding wrong view. All these miseries which are without beginning and end (i.e. numberless) continually fetter the mind and the body. They let the body, mouth and the mind commit sins without limit. Some kill their parents, some kill the Arhats, some cause the blood flow from the body of a Buddha, some destroy the united Saṅgha, some calumniate the three jewels, some cause violence to living beings, some spoil the fast and the rules of conduct (*śīla*), some drink wine, some eat meat and some commit similar other offences, endless and unthinkable. To-day with a sincere mind we practise repentance. Once we repent we destroy the continuity (of sins) for ever and we will not venture to commit them again. We place ourselves under the protection of the Buddhas and the great Bodhisattvas in ten directions. Let our sins be destroyed. (So we worship them) with complete attention.

IV. *Śaraṇagamana*—I disciple so and so take refuge in the excellent tri-kāya of the Tathāgata from the beginning of the present body up to the sitting on the Bodhimaṇḍa. I place myself under the protection of the *Vaipulya-mahāyāna-dharma-piṭaka* (方廣大乘法藏). I take refuge in the community of the *avaivartika* (不退)

1 A Chinese note says; You should teach the disciple to let his mind act. Let him think of all Buddhas in ten directions and present himself before the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, numberless like the sands of the Ganges, in the limitless dhātus and lands and seas as many as the atoms. Let him worship, praise and make offerings to each of the Buddhas.

Bodhisattvas. Let the Buddhas and the great Bodhisattvas in ten directions recognise us. We worship them with complete attention.

V. *Bodhicittānuśīlana*—I disciple so and so take the vow to cultivate the highest Bodhicitta beginning with the present body up to sitting on the Bodhimaṇḍa.

Living beings without limit take the vow of crossing,
 Merit and knowledge without limit (they) wish to collect
 Means without limit they wish to learn,
 Tathāgatas without limit they wish to serve,
 The path of anuttara Buddha they wish to attain.

We now cultivate the mind and remove from it the two characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) of *ātmadharma* (我法). It clearly reveals the original knowledge (本覺) i.e. *bodhi* which is the truth. By considering all things equal we attain the right knowledge. The mind is then fully attained and becomes all-good (*samantabhadra*). Let the Buddhas and the great Bodhisattvas in ten directions recognise us. We repent with complete attention (i.e. sincerely).

VI. *Pāpadeśanā*—First enquire if the seven sins have been committed. (If they are committed) the teacher should not give ordination. He should advise the disciple to repent. He must repent sincerely either for one week, two weeks, seven weeks or one year and become one of good character. If he does not become so, no ordination can be given.²

You children of Buddha, have you killed father since the time of your birth? Have you killed mother? Have you caused the blood of the Buddha's body flow? Have you killed the Arhats, Upādhyāyas and Ācāryas? Have you destroyed the unity of the Saṅgha? If you have committed any of the above sins you must confess it in the midst of all and practise repentance. Do not hide it. If you do so you will fall to the avīci hell and have unlimited suffering. If you follow the teachings of Buddha, make the confession. Great sin will be destroyed and you will have a pure body. You will enter Buddha's knowledge and get enlightened by the highest and right bodhi knowledge. If you have not committed it (sin) you should answer "no". You children of the Buddha, from today up to your sitting on the

2 Chinese note—If the sin committed is light you should confess the guilt. You must not hide it. Otherwise great retribution will be in store for you. If other sins are not committed you should answer "no".

Bodhimaṇḍa, can you energetically keep the highest śīlas of all the Buddhas and the great Bodhisattvas and the best *saṃvaraśīla* (律儀戒)? So it has been called the *tri-śaraṇa-śīla*. Keep the *saṃvaraśīla*. Keep the *kuśala-śīla* (善法戒). Keep the *sattvārtha-krīgā-śīla*. (饒益有情戒). You should follow it in this body up to your attainment of Bodhi.

Can you keep this vow without lapses during all this time?

[Yes.]

Can you do that during all this time without giving up the *tri-śaraṇa* and the four vows?

[Yes.]

Then cultivate the Bodhicitta and receive the Bodhisattva-śīla.

Let the Buddhas and the great Bodhisattvas in ten directions recognise and protect us. Let us not go back. Let us worship with complete attention.

VII. *Ācāryābhīṣeka*—We disciples so and so, invite all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in ten directions, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva Maitreya, Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva, Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, Vajradhara Bodhisattva, Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, Vajragarbha Bodhisattva, Sarvanivāraṇa Bodhisattva, and the assembly of all great Bodhisattvas who according to their previous vow came to the Bodhimaṇḍa to recognise us. We worship them with full attention.

I disciple so and so, invite the Buddha Śākyamuni to be our Upādhyāya. We respectfully invite the Buddhas in ten directions to be our teacher for recognising the śīla. We respectfully invite all Bodhisattvas and Mahāsattvas to be our fellow-students of law. May all the Buddhas and the great Bodhisattvas have compassion for us and kindly accept our invitation. We worship them with complete attention.

VIII. *Karma*—Listen, you all children of Buddha. Now for you is given the *kaṃma-dāna-śīla*. It is time to receive the śīla. Listen attentively to what has been written on *kie-mo* (karma).

All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the three worlds in ten directions may remember their merciful intentions. You all children of Buddha, beginning from today till you sit on the Bodhimaṇḍa, learn the pure śīla of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the past, present and future...It means keeping the *saṃvara-śīla*, keeping the *kuśala-*

śīla and *sattvārtha-kriyā-śīla*. These three pure *śīlas* have been completely received³. We worship with full attention.

IX. *Simābandha*—You all children of Buddha, beginning from today till you attain the highest Bodhi, should fully keep the three pure *śīlas* of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Now you have received the pure *śīla*. Keep it thus⁴. We worship with full attention.

X. *The practice of the four adhiṣṭhāna dharmas*. You all children of Buddha, you have cultivated the Bodhicitta and practised the Bodhisattvaśīla as mentioned above. You should then practise the four *adhiṣṭhāna dharmas* and the ten important *śīlas*. You must not violate them. The four dharmas are: to make charity-*dānam* (布施), to use agreeable words-*priyavādītā* (愛語), to do beneficial acts-*artha-caryā* (利行) and to work in unity *samā-nārthatā* (同事). If you wish to curb your endless desire and to do good to other living beings practise charity. If you wish to control anger, vanity and other troubles of the mind and to do good to others use agreeable words. If you wish to do good to others and fulfil your original vow, do acts beneficial to others. If you wish to be acquainted with learned men and not to let good minds be destroyed, work in unity (with them).⁵

XI. *The ten important-śīlas*: You all children of Buddha receive the Bodhisattva-śīla. I shall now speak on the ten important-śīlas. You should carefully listen :

(1). You should not turn down the Bodhicitta. It is harmful for those who want to become Buddha.

(2). You should not abandon the three jewels and take refuge in the religion of the Tīrthikas which is harmful to the law.

(3). You should not speak ill of the three jewels and the teachings of the three yānas. It goes against the Buddha-sattva.

(4). If you cannot understand the deep meaning of the Mahāyāna sūtras, do not have any doubts. A common man (prthag-jana) cannot understand it.

(5). Even to men who have not cultivated the Bodhicitta you should not speak such laws as may drive them to the practice of the two yānas. Otherwise you will violate the original vow.

3 Chinese note—to be said three times.

4 Chinese note—to be said three times.

5 Chinese note—these four laws relate to conduct.

(6). When some people have already cultivated the Bodhicitta do not speak to them such laws as may destroy the Bodhicitta and lead them to the two Yānas. You will otherwise destroy the seed of the three jewels.

(7). To those who follow these Yānas and have wrong views you should not speak at once of the highest and excellent Mahāyāna. For there is fear of abuse and great mischief.

(8). You should not cultivate the wrong views. It will lead to the destruction of the good foundation.

(9). You should not yourself speak before the Tirthikas that you keep the excellent śīla for the highest bodhi. This makes them jealous and seek for such śīlas. When they cannot keep them they abandon Bodhisattvaśīla. Both are harmful.

(10). You should not do anything injurious or not beneficial to the living beings. You should not ask others to do that or feel happy when you see others doing that. It is contrary to the law of doing good to others and to the nature of a compassionate mind.

Such is the Bodhisattvaśīla that I have now given you. You should observe these pure śīlas and let no mistakes be committed. Then the pure śīla concerning the three refuges are received.

[II]

You should also gradually receive the *vipaśyanā jñāna* (觀智), its methods, the law of *dhyāna* and other excellent things of the Mahāyāna. You should have a desire to receive this law. It is very deep and profound and you should not reveal it to others as a believer is rarely found. Give the secret religion according to capacity. First of all speak on the different upāyas and then communicate the teachings of the Āryas. Let firm belief grow so that the net of doubts may be destroyed. Then one's mind is fully illuminated.

The master of the Tripiṭaka, Śubhākara, then said: The force of the *Kuśalamūla* (根機) of all beings is not the same. The teachings of the Āryas have not been given in the same way. You should not hold one law against others. Even you cannot obtain birth amongst the gods and men, not to speak of attaining the highest law. One may become Buddha by doing charity (*dāna*). One may also become a Buddha by observing the śīla. One may also become Buddha by patience (*kṣānti*), energy (*vīrya*), meditation (*dhyāna*), *prajñā* etc. or by following any of the eighty-four thousand ways of the law. To-day,

according to the *Vairoṣṇiṣa-sūtra* (金剛頂經), I am going to give you an *upāya* by practising which you may become a Buddha. If you listen to what I say, purify your mind and practise meditation peacefully.

The master of the Tripiṭaka then remained seated in his place in the midst of the assembly not moving from his seat, quiet as if entering the *dhyāna*. After a long time he woke up from his meditation and looked on four kinds of people (around him). All of them bowed to him with folded hands and showed respects to him again and again.

The master of the Tripiṭaka after a while said: Formerly you received the pure Bodhisattva-śīla. Now you should receive the śīla of the pure undefiled law (*anāsrava-dharma-śīla* 無漏清法戒) which is the very essence of all Buddhas. You can then enter the *dhyāna*. On entering the *dhyāna* you should recite the *dhāraṇī*. The *dhāraṇī* is ultimately the same as the law of Buddha. This leads to an ocean of all knowledge. It is the śīla of the true law (*satya-dharma-śīla*). Nobody should be allowed to hear the secret of this law at once. If one wants to hear it he should first receive the following *dhāraṇī*:

ओं समय स्तां (?)

This *dhāraṇī* should be recited three times. Then let him hear the śīla and other secret laws so that he may have all the rules of the pure Vinaya of the Bodhisattvas. Its merits are innumerable. Then for cultivating the mind the following *dhāraṇī* is given:

ओं बोधिचित्तमुत्पादयामि

This *dhāraṇī* should be recited three times. Then the Bodhicitta should be cultivated with firmness and without any lapse up to the attainment of Buddhahood. Then for realisation the following *dhāraṇī* is given:

ओं चित्तप्रतिबोधं करोमि

This *dhāraṇī* should be recited three times. Thereby one may get the treasures of the deep śīlas and acquire the knowledge of all seeds (種智). This quickly leads to the realisation of the excellent Bodhi. It is the sound of all the Buddhas unified and uttered simultaneously. Then for entering the domain of the Bodhisattva-caryā the following *dhāraṇī* is given:

ओं वज्रमण्डलं प्रवेशामि

If this dhāraṇī is recited three times it leads to all kinds of initiation (abhiṣeka) and establishment in the maṇḍala. One can then hear all the secret laws without hindrance. After getting the Bodhisattvābhiṣeka (initiation to Bodhisattvahood) one gets the dhyāna. This is the śīla of the undefiled secret law (anāsrava-). Then for the protection of the initiated the following dhāraṇī is given :

ओं शुभा शुभा

By repeating it one hundred times you can remove all obstacles. The three karmas are purified. The sins are removed. The evil one (māra) can no longer disturb you. The practice is like the pure white silk which may be easily coloured. When the sins and obstacles are all destroyed you realise the samādhi quickly. Then for the Caryā the following dhāraṇī is given.

ओं सर्वविदे स्वाहा

The method of recitation is to repeat either of the two dhāraṇīs (at a time) but not in pairs. Otherwise there is fear of taxing the mind too much and losing full attention.

Those who want to enter Samādhi should keep away from all worldly affairs at the time of first learning. Alone, in a solitary place he should sit cross-legged. First make the mudrā for your protection. Combine the *dāna* (the little finger of the right hand) with the *prajñā* (the little finger of the left), raise *śīla* (ring finger of the right hand), *kṣānti* (middle finger of the right hand) *upāya* (ring finger of the left hand) and *praṇidhāna* (middle finger of the left). The two hands are in an interlacing position. Then *vīrya* (fore-finger of the right hand) and *bala* (fore-finger of the left) are joined and raised. Then open the heart (ॐ) a little, and join the *dhyāna* (thumb of the right hand) and the *jñāna* (thumb of the left) and raise them. This makes the mudrā (complete). The first mudrā is made on the top of the head, the second on the forehead, the third on the right shoulder, the fourth on the left shoulder, the fifth on the heart, the sixth on the right knee and seventh on the left knee. While making the mudrās, repeat each of the dhāraṇīs mentioned above, seven times in all the seven places, the last mudrā being made on the top of the head. Then repeat the dhāraṇīs on the rosary. If you can repeat it from 200 or 300 times to 3000 or 5000 times at

each sitting then repeat them fully for a lo-ch'a (*lakṣa*) times. By doing so you can attain various siddhis. It increases the strength and sustaining power of the body. The body is to be kept erect as before with legs half-crossed, the right leg on the left. They need not be fully crossed. When legs are fully crossed it becomes painful. The mind is then distracted by pain. It is then difficult to attain concentration of mind. If from the beginning one can sit fully cross-legged then that is the best thing. The head is kept straight looking in a level, the eyes are neither fully opened nor completely closed. If they are fully opened the mind is distracted. If they are fully closed then also the mind is distracted. Don't be attracted by outside object. After sitting peacefully one should direct the mind to worship and repentance. First let the mind see Buddhas in ten directions in the assembly of men and gods, teaching the law to the four assemblies. Then you should see your own self doing the three acts of respecting, worshipping and praising all the Buddhas one by one. The man who gets this vision should clearly distinguish himself and see it as if it were before his own eyes. After this he should take his mind to the world of all gods and men in ten directions and worship with flowers, scents, banners, drink and food and various kinds of precious things. The emptiness of all the Dharmadhātu is then filled up. Worship all the Buddha, the great Bodhisattvas, the Dharmakāya, the Sambhogakāya, and the Nirmāṇakāya, the Caryāphala and the great assembly. The man who worships them can direct his mind to the presence of each of the Buddhas and the great Bodhisattvas and can acquire the highest sincerity. This leads to repentance: We, from time immemorial till now, have been floating in birth and death with mind afflicted by troubles. We have been doing acts of body, speech and mind in numberless ways. To-day we are only full of repentance. By once repenting we destroy the continuity of karma. We will not do any more karma. We only wish that all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas by the power of their great mercy may protect us and accept our repentance. Let our sins be immediately destroyed.⁶

You should then take the following vow: I have been long floating in the past, then practised the Bodhisattvacaryā, obtained benefit for

⁶ Chinese note—it is called *adhyātma-guhyā-anuśocanā* which is the highest and the best.

the numberless living beings. By practising the dhyāna and by steadfastly practising the Virya we have protected the three karmas (業). By doing this we have acquired merits as numerous as the sands of the Ganges. So also we have acquired the Buddhaphala. We now wish that all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas through their merciful power may protect us and let us win these merits, and quickly allow us to attain *Samādhimukha-yoga* and *Dhāraṇī-yoga*. May they allow us to acquire all the purity of nature (*svābhāvasuddhatā*). If you fully take this vow you will immediately attain spiritual success (*siddhi*) without hindrance.

[III]

After this you should learn breathing. Breathing is as follows: First think of breathing in and breathing out. It must go inside our body through all the joints and muscles. Afterwards it goes out slowly through the mouth. You should think that the breath is as white as snow and as liquid as milk. One should follow the distance it goes. It again slowly comes in through nose. It goes to the joints and muscles all over the body. It is then allowed to go out and come in three times. If you do this breathing the body will no longer suffer from cold, heat, wind etc., and all will be pacified. After this learn Samādhi.

The master of the Tripiṭaka, Śubhākara then said: The first learners may get frightened at the thoughts that arise when the breath stops. So some try to get rid of thoughts completely. It is not possible to succeed in that. The thoughts are of two kinds—*kuśala* and *akuśala*. The *akuśala* thoughts should be avoided from the beginning. Don't let the *kuśala* thoughts be destroyed. The man who follows the true and correct practice should first of all follow right memory (*samyaksmṛti*) in an increasing manner. Afterwards this leads to complete purity. As a man who learns to shoot becomes a good marksman by long practice so also (by long practice) one can attain the *niscitta-samjñā* (無心想) and remain firm in samādhi. Then there is no more fear of the rising of thoughts. There is fear of it only at the time of the first practice.

Next you should practice samādhi. What is meant by samādhi is nothing but *nirvikalpa-dharmā* (無別法). So it is called the knowledge of the great and full mirror (大圓鏡智). Beginning with

all Buddhas above down to the senseless creatures all are of the same class, no more and no less. But impure and bad thoughts cover them with avidyā and viṣaya. This is why they float in the world of transmigration, are subject to birth and death and cannot attain Buddhahood. So those who practise should remain firm and peaceful. They should not be attracted by objects. Imagine a bright disc like the clear moon at a distance of four feet from the body, direct in the front neither high nor low. It measures one cubit and is completely circular. Its colour is bright, it is shining both inside and outside and is without a like. At first you will not be able to get a long view of it but if you try attentively you will get it. After searching you can have a large view of it. Then you will find its expansion increasing up to four feet, or double that size or becoming as big as to fill up the *tri-saṣāsrā-mahāsaṣāsrā* worlds. You can clearly distinguish it. It appears clearly to you although it is beyond (the ordinary) sight. Then slowly return to the original nature. When you first saw it, it looked like a moon. But when you will have gone round, it no longer looks square or circular. This sort of seeing enables you to remove all hindrances and attain samādhi. This samādhi is known as *tī ts'ien san hien* (地前三賢). With its help you can advance slowly through the dharmadhātu. It has been spoken of in the Sūtras as the first bhūmi—so it is known as the *prathamā-bhūmi*. This method was not known before but now you can get it for the first time. As you get great joy from it the first bhūmi is called *kuān-hi* (歡喜)—*muditā*. No distinction is made (in this bhūmi). Further-more, as in the case of the moon, the purity of nature has three aspects: firstly it is purity of nature (*svabhāva-śuddhatā*) free from greed, desire and impurities; secondly, it is perfectly cool being free from anger and passions; thirdly, it is bright being free from ignorance and foolishness (lit. darkness).

The moon is composed of the four elements (*mahābhūtas*), which are ultimately destroyed. So is the moon seen by all people. They take it for comparison with the intellect. Practice means seeing it for a long time and attaining success (*siddhi*). One should not go either too slow or too fast. Then you see only brightness and nothing else, not even the body and the mind. All dharmas are lost in emptiness. But this should not be taken as emptiness. It is absence of thought (無念) and hence it is *āyātānā-sūnyātā* and not vacuity. It may be realised after a long practice. Then you are in a state of yoga without

obstacle (無所罣礙) whether walking, sitting, staying or lying down or thinking at all times and in all places. You are then no longer moved by wrong thought, greediness, anger, foolishness or any other trouble (kleśa). Once destroyed they will not arise again. Nature is always pure. Go on practising in this way till you attain Buddhahood. This is the only method and there is no other method. This is the way of the inner light of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. It is not within the access of the two yānas and the Tīrthikas. The merits of the law of all Buddhas are as numerous as the sands of the Ganges. They cannot be attained by any other method. You can realise them with this (method) alone. If you can unfold one letter you can speak on numberless laws. In one moment (*kṣaṇa*) you awaken all Dharmas. This is the state of *īśvara* (自在) in which there is no obstacle. There is then no going, no coming, no rise and no destruction. All attain *śamatā* (平等). By advancing slowly you can at last attain self-illumination. It is not possible to speak more fully about it.

The master of the Tripiṭaka, Śubhākara, then said: After practice and attainment of success you will be in that state of mind which has five aspects: the first is *kṣaṇā-citta*. This *citta* sees the way by one *smṛti-yogā* (念相應). It is quickly lost and forgotten. It is like the lightning at night which quickly appears and disappears. So it is called *kṣaṇa*. The second is the *śrotāpānnā-citta* (流注心)—when one has already seen the way and thinks of it more and more without stopping. It is like the current falling. So it is called *śrotāpānnacitta*. The third is the *madhura-citta* (甜美心)—when through the accumulation of endless efforts *śūnyatā* is attained and the body and mind become light (i.e. to attain *praśrabdhi*) and a taste of the way is obtained. So it is called *madhura*. The fourth is the *vidhvamsanā-vikṣipta-citta* (摧散心) by this either you energetically rise at once or give up the practice. Both are against the way and so it is called the *vidhvamsanā-vikṣipta-citta*. The fifth is the *ādarśa-citta* (明鏡心)—one goes away from the scattered and troubled state of mind and sees the round bright light. Then nothing else remains. So it is called *ādarśa-citta*.

If these five *cittas* are understood and realised by oneself then the three yānas, the common people (*prthag-jana*) and the sages (*āryas*) will be distinguished. All of you who are practising, first practice meditation (定). You should practise the secret methods (*guhyopāya* 祕密方便) of all the past Buddhas and hold and practise the law of meditation. First of all get the yoga of all the *dhāraṇīs*. So you should practise the four *dhāraṇīs* that follow:

ओं सूक्ष्म वज्र

This dhāraṇī can make you attain the *vipaśyanā-siddhi*.*

ओं तिष्ठ वज्र

This dhāraṇī can make your *vipaśyanā* undecaying.

ओं सुप्र वज्र

This dhāraṇī can make your *vipaśyanā* gradually attain vastness.

ओं संहार वज्र

This dhāraṇī can make your *vipaśyanā* vast and then make again gradually contracted.

These are the four dhāraṇīs. This is the Bhagavan. It is the secret upāya of the self-illuminated law which opens the mind of the students and quickly enlighten them. If you wish to attain samādhi in the four iryāpathas (威儀) then always repeat these dhāraṇīs. Always cultivate it in your mind and do not give it up for a moment. It will never fail you. You all who practise samādhi should know the rule of walking (經行).

At a quiet place make the ground level and clean. Its surface should have a length of 25 cubits. Erect (two) posts at the two ends. Pass a rope through them and attach it to the two ends. It is hung high up to the chest. Hold the rope by means of a bamboo tube which is big enough to be held in the hands. Turn the bamboo tube with the sun on the right. Go and come in a balanced way. The mind, quite composed, sees in the front up to 6 feet. In this way practise samādhi and control the mind in its original state. Clearly realise the truth and don't let it be lost. Put one foot down and repeat a dhāraṇī. In this way repeat the four dhāraṇīs from the beginning to the end. Repeat them without stop. If you feel tired then sit quietly.

The man who practices it thus, realises the upāya, if he goes deep and proceeds energetically. The mind then becomes as strong as the vajra, unshakable, unchangeable and armed with a very strong armour. The mind becomes strong and sharp. Take vow to practise it till the end. Do not go back and get moved to the last. Do not learn many things that raise doubt in the mind. It is passing time in vain. The law has no two characters. Both the mind and speech are lost in it. Without the means (upāya) you cannot enter it otherwise.

Sanskrit (梵) and Chinese (漢) are different languages. One cannot understand the one without translating it into the other. I have

instructed what I remember to be written down so that those who are ignorant about it may be instructed to do this. The dhyāna teacher Hui-king (慧警) of the Si-ming sse (西明寺) in the capital first collected it. It has now been found out again and put in order. With our heads bent let us say fully :

Obeissance to the Buddhas in ten directions.

Truth is like the nectar in the bottom of the sea.

To the three sages, the ten Āryas, the Arhats and the Bhikṣu-saṅgha.

We pray so that they may increase the power of our memory (*smṛti-bala*) by their wonderful power.

Rare are the dhāraṇīs and the essentials of the dhyāna.

Cultivate the full, bright, vast, great mind.

We accordingly praise it now

And get benefit for all beings of the dharmadhātu.

[I] ततो गुरुणाऽध्याशयप्रवृत्तं शिष्यमालोक्य यथाशक्ति प्रयच्छामोति स्वीकारपुरःसरं एवं दातव्यं ॥ वदत्वायुष्मन्⁽¹⁾ समन्वाहरन्तु मां दशदिग् लोकधातु संनिपतित्वा बुद्धा भगवन्तो महाबोधिसत्त्वाश्च । समन्वाहरन्तु आचार्योऽहमेवंनामा यत्किञ्चित् कायवाङ्मनोभिर्बुद्धबोधिसत्त्वान् मातापितरौ तदन्यान् वा सत्त्वान् समागम्य इहजन्मनि अन्येषु वा जन्मान्तरेषु मया पापकं कर्म कृतं कारितं वाऽनुमोदितं वा तत्सर्वमेकमभिसंक्षिप्य पिण्डयित्वा तुलयित्वा सर्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वाः नामाचार्यस्य वान्तिके अग्रया प्रवरया देशनया प्रतिदेशयामि । जानन् स्मरणं प्रतिच्छादयामि ॥ त्रिरेवम् ॥

[II] सोहमेवंनामा एवं देशितात्यय इमं दिवसमुपादाय यावदाबोधिमण्डनिषदनात् बुद्धं भगवन्तं महाकारुणिकं सर्वज्ञं सर्वदर्शिनं सर्ववैरभयातीतं महापुरुषं अभेद्यकायं अनुत्तरकायं धर्मकायं शरणं गच्छामि द्विपदानामग्रं । सोऽहमेवंनामा एवं देशितात्ययः । इमं दिवसमुपादाय यावदाबोधिमण्डनिषदनात् धर्मशरणं गच्छाम्यनुत्तरं महायानं धर्मानां प्रबलं । सोऽहमेवं देशितात्ययः । इमं दिवसमुपादाय यावदाबोधिमण्डनिषदनादवैवर्तिकबोधिसत्त्वसंघशरणं गच्छामि दान्तं गणानां श्रेष्ठं ॥ त्रिरेवम् ॥

[III] सोऽहमेवंनामा एवं देशितात्ययः । इमं दिवसमुपादाय विशरणगतोऽनन्तसत्त्वधातुन्तराण्यभ्युद्वरणाय च संसारदुःखात् परित्राणाय सर्वज्ञाने प्रतिप्रापनाय । यथातीतानागतप्रत्युत्पन्नाबुद्धा भगवन्तो महाबोधिसत्त्वाश्च बोधिचित्तमुत्पाद्य बुद्धत्वमधिगतवन्तोऽधिगच्छन्ति अधिगमिष्यन्ति च । यथा ते सर्वसंबुद्धा अनावरणेन बुद्धज्ञानेन बुद्धचक्षुषा जानन्ति पश्यन्ति यथाधर्मानां धर्मतां ज्ञात्वादुत्यनुजानन्ति । तेन विधिना अहमेवंनाम आचार्यस्यान्तिकात् सम्बुद्धबोधिसत्त्वानां च पुरतोऽनुत्तरायां सम्यक्सम्बोधौ चित्तमुत्पादयामि ॥ त्रिरेवम् ॥ त्रिरेवं अथाग्रेणबोधिसत्त्वा मां सर्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वा आचार्यश्च धारयन्त ॥ इति रत्नत्रयशरणगमनं बोधिचित्तोत्पादपूर्वकम् ॥

1 From here up to the end of the 3rd paragraph the text agrees closely with the text of *Bodhisattva-Prātimokṣa-sūtra* published by Dr. N. Dutt (*loc. cit.*)

[IV] पञ्चशिक्तापदग्रहणमुपासकसम्बर सवाध्येषितवते शिष्याय एवं दातव्यं ॥ वदत्वमायुष्मन् समन्वाहर आचार्य्य यथा ते आचार्य्या अर्हन्तो यावज्जीवं प्राणातिपातं प्रहाय प्राणातिपातात् प्रतिविरताः । एवमेवाहमुकनामा इमं दिवसमुपादाय यावज्जीवं प्राणातिपातं प्रहाय प्राणातिपातात् प्रतिविरमामि । अनेनाहं प्रथमेनाङ्गेन तेषामार्याणामर्हतां शिक्तायामनुशिक्ते अनुविधीये अनुकरोमि । पुनरपरं समन्वाहर आचार्य्य यथा ते आचार्य्या अर्हन्तो यावज्जीवमदत्तादानं काममिथ्याचारं मृषावादं सुरामैरेयमद्यप्रमादस्थानं च प्रहाय अदत्तादानात् काममिथ्याचारात् मृषावादात् सुरामैरेयमद्य प्रमादस्थानात् च प्रतिविरताः । तथाहमुकनामा इमं दिवसमुपादाय यावज्जीवं अदत्तादानं काममिथ्याचारं मृषावादं सुरामैरेयमद्यप्रमादस्थानं च प्रहाय अदत्तादानात् काममिथ्याचारात् मृषावादात् सुरामैरेयमद्यप्रमादस्थानात् च प्रतिविरमामि । अनेनाहं पञ्चमेनाङ्गेन तेषामार्य्याणां अर्हतां शिक्तायामनुशिक्ते अनुविधीये अनुकरोमि उपासकं च मां आचार्या धारयतु । एवं द्विरपि तिरपि ॥

[V] आर्य्याष्टाङ्गिकपोषधं कर्तुमिच्छति तदा पूर्ववदध्येषितवते तीणिशरणगमनानि दत्वाऽष्टौशिक्तापदान्येव दातव्यानि । वदत्वामायुष्मन् समन्वाहर आचार्य्य अहं अमुकनामा इमां वेत्तामुपादाय यावच्च रात्रिगामिनी यावत्तश्च सूर्य्योदयोऽन्तान्तराः सर्वप्राणिवधात् परस्व-हरणादब्रह्मचर्यात् तथा वाग्भेदादनृतात् मदीयजननान्याताद्विकालासनान्मानवर्णक-नृत्यगीतललितात् शय्यासनादुच्छ्रितादद्याहं विरतः करोम्यर्हतां वृत्तं गुणैरष्टभिः ॥ त्विरेवं ॥

[VI] इदं मे पोषधं शीलसम्बरसमादानं चित्तालंकारापचित्तपरिष्काराय सर्वसत्वा-मन्तरज्ञानफलावाप्तये इति । अत्र गुरुणा वक्तव्यं औपयिकं । शिष्येणसाध्विति । पुष्पाति यस्मात् कुशलसमग्रं कृतं च संशोधयतीह पायतत् पोषणाच्चित्तविशोधनाच्च तथागतः पोषधमित्तुवाच । पोषधविधि ॥

Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā

(H. P. Shastri, *Catalogue...*, pp. 123-126)

- (I) अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं बुद्धशरणं गच्छामि द्विपदानामप्रथमम् । धर्मं शरणं गच्छामि विरागाणामप्रथमम् । संधं शरणं गच्छामि गणानामप्रथमम् । (द्विरपि)
- (II) अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं प्राणातिपातात् प्रतिविरमामि ।
अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवमदत्तादानात् प्रतिविरमामि ।
अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं कामामिथ्याचारात् प्रतिविरमामि ।
अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं मृषावादात् प्रतिविरमामि ।
अहमित्थं यावज्जीवं सुरामैरैयमद्यप्रमादस्थानात् प्रतिविरमामि । (त्रिरपि)
- (III) अहमित्थंनामा आचार्यं याचे । आचार्येणाहं प्रव्रजिष्ये ॥ (द्विरपि)
अहमित्थंनामा उपाध्यायेन प्रव्रजिष्ये । (त्रिरपि)
अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं गृहलिङ्गं परित्याजामि प्रव्रज्यालिंगं समाददे । (त्रिरपि)
अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं बुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि द्विपदानाप्रथमम् ।
अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं धर्मं शरणं गच्छामि विरागाणामप्रथमम् ।
अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं संधं शरणं गच्छामि गणानामप्रथमम् । (त्रिरपि)
- (IV) अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं प्राणातिपातवैरमणा श्रामणोरशिक्षाः समाददे । एवमेवाहं प्रथमेनाङ्गेन तेषामार्याणामर्हता शिक्षायामनुशिक्ते अनुविधीये अनुकरोमि यथा ते आर्या अर्हन्तो यावज्जीवं अदत्तादानमब्रह्मचर्यमृषावादसुरामैरैयमद्यप्रमादस्थानान् नृत्यगीतवादित्रमालागन्धविलेपनवर्णकधारणमुच्चशयनमहाशयनाकालभोजनजातरूपरजत-प्रतिग्रहात् प्रतिविरताः ।
अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं अदत्तादानवैरमणा श्रामणोर शिक्षापदं समापादयामि ।
अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं अब्रह्मचर्यवैरमणा शिक्षापदं समाददे ।
अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं मृषावादवैरमणा शिक्षापदं समादयामि ।
अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं सुरामैरैयमद्यप्रमादस्थानवैरमणा शिक्षापदं समादयामि ।
अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं उच्चशयनमहाशयनशिक्षापदं समादयामि ।
अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं नृत्यगीतवाद्यवैरमणा शिक्षापदं समादयामि ।

अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं मालागन्धविलेपनवैरमणं शिञ्चापदं समादयामि ।

अहमित्थंनामा यावज्जीवं जातरूपरजतप्रतिग्रहणवैरमणं शिञ्चापदं समादयामि ।

(तिरपि)

(V) अहमित्थंनामा आचार्य्यं अध्येषयामि इदं चीवरं संघस्य विश्वासे
संघपरिभोगायाधिष्ठु ।

अहमित्थंनामा आचार्य्यं अध्येषयामि इदं चीवरं राजकुलगमनायाधिधिष्ठु ।

अहमित्थंनामा आचार्य्यं अध्येषयामि इदं चीवरं ग्रामनगरजनाराम-
पल्लीपत्तनगमनायाधिधिष्ठु ।

अहमित्थंनामा आचार्य्यं अध्येषयामि इदं पात्रं ऋषिभाजनं शिञ्चाभाजनं-
भोजनपरिभोगिकमधिधिष्ठु ।

अहमित्थंनामा आचार्य्यं अध्येषयामि इमां शिक्षाभाजनकुण्डिका-
मधिधिष्ठु ।

अहमित्थंनामा आचार्य्यं अध्येषयामि इमां खिच्चिरिकामधिधिष्ठु । (तिरपि)

.....उपाध्याय ... [तिरपि]

.....आचार्य्यसंघा ... [तिरापि]

अहमित्थंनामा इदं चीवरं संघस्य विश्वासपरिभोगाय धारयामि.....

राजकुलगमनाय धारयामि.....ग्रामनगरनिगमपल्लीपत्तनगमनाय
धारयामि.....

पात्रं ऋषिभाजनं शिञ्चाभाजनं भोजनोपभोगाय धारयामि.....शिञ्चामाजन-
कुण्डिकां धारयामि.....खिच्चिरिकां धारयामि ।

अहमित्थंनामा आचार्य्य्यासम्बरमासंपत्स्ये ।

(VI) अहमित्थंनामा यदा संघस्य सामग्रीं लप्स्ये तदा अनेन संघेन सार्द्धं
पोषधं करिष्ये ।

...शीलस्कन्ध...समाधिस्कन्ध...प्रज्ञास्कन्ध...विमुक्तिज्ञान-
दर्शन.....(तिरपि)

*P. C. Bagchi.

Sino-Indian Relations—

The Period of the United Empires (II)

The political decadence that started towards the end of the T'ang period continued even after the assumption of power by the Song dynasty. The loss of control over Central Asia, the internal strifes and constant menace of foreign invasion gradually contributed to the weakening of the central power. The very same factors brought about the disruption of political life in contemporary India and removed the possibility of its unification under a suzerain ruler. These are the reasons for which we do not hear of any official contact between India and China in this period.

But religion was still an important and powerful factor in the life of the people of the two great countries. The Chinese and the Indian monks were still inspired by an indomitable zeal for keeping the light of the law burning. This zeal alone kept the Buddhist churches in China and India united for a few centuries more in spite of the unfavourable political and social conditions in both the countries.

Five Chinese inscriptions were discovered from Bodhgayā. The first of these inscriptions was engraved by a Chinese Buddhist monk named Che-yi who had come to India towards the end of the 10th century. Che-yi probably did not go back to China. The other four inscriptions belong to the eleventh century. The second is due to a Chinese monk named K'o-yun, the third to Yi-ts'ing and Yi-lin and the fourth to Shao-p'in, all dated 1022 A. D. The last bears the name of Hiuan-wen who was sent by the Song Emperor T'ai-tsung to set up a votive stūpa near the Vajrāsana at Bodhgayā. It is dated 1033 A. D. They are indicative of certain activities of the pious Buddhists in China to keep up the relations with the Buddhists of India. There are a few other references to such activities in the Chinese records of which Chavannes made a special study in his now famous article—*Les Inscriptions Chinoises de Bodhgaya* (Revue de l'histoire des Religions, 1896). We are giving below translations of extracts from his article to show to what extent the Buddhists were active in China in this period.

“The Chinese pilgrims who went to India in this period were numerous. As early as 964 A. D. when the Song dynasty had come into power only for five years, 300 monks started for the Holy Land.

They travelled for twelve years. One of them named Ki-ye has left a short account of his travels. The year following their departure, the monk Tao-yuan came back from the west after an absence of 18 years. In 966, 156 persons among whom there was one Hing-k'in responded to an invitation from the Emperor who wanted to send a mission to India. In 978, Ki-ts'ong and his companions came back from India, Kuang-yuan came back in 982, Fa-yu came back in 983 and left again for India just after his return, Ts'e-huan came back between 984 and 987 and Ch'ong-ta who was away from China for ten years returned in 989 (990?). Last of all in 1031, Huai-wen who had gone to India twice, left for India for the third time. He came back in 1039 and it was during this mission that he set up in 1033 an inscription which has been preserved at Bodhgayā.

"Besides these men there were certainly others of whom the historians have kept no account. None of the authors of the inscriptions of 1022 is mentioned either in the *Fo-tsu-t'ong-ki* or in the history of the Song dynasty. If they could be forgotten, there is no knowing how many others had shared the same fate. We know besides that there were in 982 a number of Chinese monks at the Imperial court who knew Sanskrit. It is probable that they had been to India for their studies.

"The most important thing is that a good number of these monks did not travel as common men. Some of them had been entrusted by the Emperor with quasi-official missions. The 157 men who left in 966 A.D. were furnished with letters patent ordering all the kings of Central Asia and Northern India to help them with guides. Similarly Fa-yu who was to follow the route passing by Sumatra about 983 A.D. had received credentials for the principal kingdoms in that island. On their arrival in India the pilgrims had often to carry out certain religious duties in the name of their Emperor. Kuang-yuan who came back in 982 could prove by a letter from an Indian Prince that he had given on behalf of the Emperor a *kaṣāya* to the Buddha at Bodhgayā. Huai-wen was acting directly on behalf of the Emperor Jen-tsong and the Empress in building a *stūpa* at Bodhgayā in 1033 A.D. The Indian monk Kio-kie who came to China in 1010 A.D. was given by the Imperial order a gold embroidered *kaṣāya* for presentation at the Vajrāsana. Even in the T'ang period, the pilgrims were not entrusted with such missions. The first Song emperors alone utilised the services of the monks for their personal religious duties.

"While the Chinese Buddhists were being drawn to the Holy Places by their pious beliefs, the Indian monks were also streaming into the Chinese court where they were assured of warm reception. We have probably too much ignored the considerable role that the Indians played in the propagation of their faith. The interest aroused by the Chinese pilgrims has thrown into the background the work accomplished by their Indian coreligionists. In fact the Chinese translations of texts belonging to the Tripiṭaka was as much the work of the one as of the other. The foreign monks came to China not in the T'ang period only. In the 10th and the 11th centuries Buddhism was still flourishing enough in the country of its origin to enable those missionaries who wanted to preach their religion to go abroad. It was perhaps the last ray of the light that was on the point of being extinguished. But till then divine flame was always burning and exerting its vivifying influence up to North China. In 972 A.D. the Śramaṇas K'o-che, Fa-kien, Chen-li, Su-ko-t'o and forty other monks of Western India arrived at Ch'ang-ngan. In 973 the Emperor received Fa-t'ien, a Śramaṇa of Nālandā with great honours. Fa-t'ieh assumed the name Fa-hien in 982. He lived in China till his death in 1001. In 971, Mañjuśrī, the son of a king of Western India and in 977 Ki-sang, a Śramaṇa of Western India, also settled in the capital for sometime. T'ien-si-tsai a native of Kashmir, She-hu, a native of Uḍḍiyāna and Hu-lo, a Śramaṇa of Central India came to China. Emperor T'ai-tsong made a project of undertaking the work of the translation of sacred texts which had been stopped for two centuries. In 982 he appointed a board of translation at the head of which were placed three Indians, Fa-t'ien, T'ien-si-tsai and She-hu. It was probably due to their activity that the Chinese Tripiṭaka was enriched by a large number of works translated between 982 and 1011. The number of Sanskrit works on which they worked seems to have been numerous. The *Fo-tsu-t'ong-ki* tells us that each of the travellers coming from India or returning to China used to bring some palm-leaf manuscripts of Sanskrit texts with him. It is possible that one day some of these manuscripts of which we have only the Chinese translations will be discovered from the monasteries of Shan-si. The appointment of the board of translation and the redoubling of interest by the Emperor for Sanskrit studies was not without effect in attracting numerous Indian monks in China. They came in numbers. They were the following: Yong-she between 984 and 987, Pu-t'o-k'i-to a monk of

Nālandā in 989, Kia-lo-shan-ti of Central India in 995, Ni-wei-ni of Central India and Fo-hu of Western India in 999, Fa-hu of Western India and Kie-hien of Northern India in 1004, Mu-lo-she-ki of Kashmir and Ta-mo-po of Western India in 1005, Chong-to of Western India and Kio-kie of Central India in 1010, Tsi-hien of the kingdom of Pan-ni in 1011, Che-hien of Western India, T'ien-kio of Uddiyāna, Miao-to of Ceylon, T'ong-sheu of Central India, Pu-ts'i of the kingdom of Varendra in Eastern India and many others in 1016. The author of the *Fo-tsu-t'ong-ki* tells us that there were never so many Indian monks in the Chinese court. Then came to China Ngai-hien-she, Sin-hu and their companions from Western India in 1024, five monks including Fa-ki-siang in 1027 and Shan-ch'eng and eight other Śramaṇas in 1036.

"This era of prosperity was however going to end suddenly. The history of the Song dynasty terminates its notice on India from 1036 A.D. although the Song dynasty continued to remain in power for two centuries and a half more. If the chronicler has stopped, it is because he had nothing more to report and because the relations between India and China ceased from 1036 A.D. The *Fo-tsu-t'ong-ki* also confirms it. It mentions the arrival of Che-ki-siang, a Śramaṇa of Western India in 1053 but after that date it does not mention either any Chinese pilgrim or any Indian missionary. There is still another indication which reveals a great crisis through which Buddhism passed in the middle of the 11th century. The number of monks and nuns in China in 1021 A.D. were respectively 397615 and 64240; in 1034, 385520 and 48740 but in 1068 only 220660 and 34030.

"The cause of this turn of fortune is not evident. Buddhism was not at all persecuted in China in the 11th century. No edicts of proscription were passed as during other periods. But however hidden, influences which undermined Buddhism were quite strong. The enemy of Buddhism was not the temporal power. The conflicts of ideals brought about its downfall. In the second half of the 11th century the literati started the offensive movement of rationalism which vigorously reacted against all principles of foreign importation. The leaders of this movement were Han K'i (1008-1075), the famous historian Sse-ma Kuang (1009-1086), Ch'eng Hao (1032-1085) and his brother Ch'eng Yi (1033-1107) and in the twelfth century the famous commentator and philosopher Chu Hi (1130-1200)—in short all the glories of this powerful school which like the Confucian

literati vehemently attacked the Buddhist beliefs, incessantly and mercilessly. When we take into account how much the mind of the cultured class in China is even now imbued with the doctrines of the Song literati, we can understand what immense influence they must have exerted during their life-time. There is nothing to be surprised if Buddhism had been incapable of resisting such cruel enemies.

"In the same period Buddhism was passing through a still more serious crisis which had a fatal consequence. The Mahomedan invasion is not probably its immediate cause. The conquests of Mahmud of Ghazni (1001-1030) coincide on the contrary with the period during which the monks travelling between China and India were the most numerous. However in an indirect way the Islam had some influence on the destiny of Buddhism. By checking the formation of powerful native dynasties in the north and the centre of India, it removed its legitimate protectors which during so many centuries had helped it with princely gifts."

The activities of the translators during the Song period were not without importance. Although the texts translated into Chinese are not of much use for the study of early Buddhism they are of fundamental importance for the study of the later phases of Buddhism in India. Buddhism in India in this period had changed considerably and had given rise to mystic schools much influenced by the Brahmanical schools of Tantra. A large majority of Buddhist texts translated into Chinese in this period therefore belonged to these Tantric schools of Buddhism. The number of texts translated was considerable. About 285 such texts have been preserved in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. It will not be quite out of place to give a short description of Indian translators who worked in China under the Song.

The first and foremost of these translators was Fa-t'ien (法天). This might be either a Chinese name adopted by him or a Chinese translation of his Indian name which might have been Dharmadeva. He assumed a new name in 982 which was Fa-hien (法賢) or Dharmabhadra. He was originally a monk of the Nalanda monastery in Magadha. He came to China in 973 and was held in much esteem by the Emperor. He died in China in 1001 and was awarded posthumous honours by the Emperor. He translated in all 118 Sanskrit texts into Chinese.

Another Indian monk who worked in China in the same period was

She-hu (法護). This was probably the Chinese translation of his original name—Dānapāla. He was a native of the country of Wu-t'ien-nang (Uḍḍiyāna) in Northern India. He came to China in 980 and translated 111 texts into Chinese. The most important of these was a translation of the *Daśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*.

There was another translator named T'ien-si-tsai (天息災) but his original name is not known. He was according to one source a native of Kia-she-mi-lo (Kāśmīra) but according to another source a monk of the monastery of Mi-lin in Jālandhara. There is however no contradiction as the kingdom of Jālandhara was a dependency of Kashmir. T'ien-si-tsai came to China in 980 and died in China in 999. He translated in all 18 works which include a translation of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, in 20 chapters.

Another translator, Fa-hu (施護) or Dharmarakṣa came to China in 1004 with relics of Buddha and palm-leaf manuscripts. He was a monk of Western India. He worked in China till his death in 1058 and translated 12 works. All these were Māhāyāna works with the exception of one that was a Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma text. Other translators of this period were the following:

Che ki siang (智吉祥) or Jñānaśrī of Western India who translated 2 works about 1053 A.D.

Kin tsong che (金總持) or Suvarṇadhara who translated 2 works about 1113 A.D.

Maitreyabhadra (慈賢) of Magadha who was in China till 1125 and translated 5 works.

Sūryakīrti (日稱) translated 7 works.

Besides, we get the name of three Chinese translators named Wei-tsing, Shao-to and Wang Je-hieu who translated altogether 10 Sanskrit texts in the 11th century. The number of Chinese works on Buddhism by Chinese Buddhist monks as well as laymen that were compiled in the Song period was considerable. Seventy-six such works of varying importance by 43 authors have found place in the Taisho collection of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. This shows that the literary activity of the Buddhist scholars both Chinese and Indian in the Song period was not at all insignificant.

Comparative Studies in the Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta and its Chinese Versions

INTRODUCTION

Mencius, the ancient Chinese sage and a great grand disciple of Confucius passed a remark on reading old books:—

“If you trust completely your faith in the books, you would better do without books!”

We cannot exactly say how much suspicion this old sage had in his mind about the old Chinese books. However we can imagine why he uttered such wise and distrustful words. First because there is always the question of authorship. It is not infrequently that we find cases that a certain person who wrote a book, instead of putting down his own name as its author, put the name of a very famous person of his time or even a few centuries ago, so that by the glory of that person's fame, his work might become very popular and last for ever. Secondly the contents of the old books are also not devoid of suspicion. If a book of the Confucian Classics, be edited or composed by somebody and in which we find sentences such as: “Confucius says such and such things” should we believe that they are the utterances of Confucius or are they speeches of other people? For Confucius never wrote a book himself, so is the case with Gautama, the Buddha. We came to know about the teachings of these great masters through second-hand information of their disciples. How long after their expiry, did these disciples edit such books? And from where did they obtain such information? Whatever the case may be, we are not quite sure that they are the exact utterances of these masters, for the simple reason that the statements in the same book contradict one another.¹ Moreover, it is always the case with the disciples of great

1. In Nanjio No. 1121, fasc. 36, Sh. XVII-2. p. 76., it states that the Buddha at Cāpāla Cetiya explained to Ananda the eight causes of earthquake, but just in the opposite page Sh. XVII-2. p. 77., again the Buddha explained to the same person that there were three causes of earthquake only! So is the case with I P. (Nanjio No. 552) Sh. XII-10. p. 13b. L. 9—13. At the beginning the Buddha gave the eight causes of earthquake, but later on in Sh. XII-10. p. 14b. L. 9—12., it relates that the Blessed One told Ananda

masters that they have a great zeal and love for their teachers and doctrines. For the sake of spreading their religion and in grateful admiration for their masters, if something stated about them is exaggerated, that would be quite natural. But we, on our part, wish to know the truth, if we point out certain statement which is doubtful and against the fact, we wish to be excused as rebels against the "Holy Scriptures."

T. W. Rhys Davids, the great Pāli scholar in course of his introduction to the English translation of the Pāli Mahā-parinibbānasutta, were of the opinion that the direct speeches of the Buddha in that text, were not uttered by him but wrought out by his disciples in a much later date, for he says:—

"No record of his actual words could have been preserved. It is quite evident that the speeches placed in the Teacher's mouth though formulated in the first person, in direct narrative, are only intended to be summaries, and very short summaries, of what was said on these occasions. Now if corresponding summaries of his previous teaching had been handed down in the Order, and were in constant use among them, at the time when the Book of the Great Decease was put together, it would be a safe and easy method to insert such previously existing summaries in the historical account as having been spoken at the places where the Teacher was traditionally believed to have spoken on the corresponding doctrines....."¹

This is how the Buddhist Sūtras used to grow and how the Buddhist Theras laboured hard for their improvement and elucidation.

From our comparative studies we come to form an idea that usually the Sūtras especially the present text, are developed and enlarged from the simpler and original sources which were in existence. And there are texts though bearing the same name, almost of similar nature and contents, which may not be composed by the same author or may not be of the same time. For the former, one will find in the Pāli Tripiṭaka almost all the chief occurrences and passages which have been found in the Pāli Mahā-parinibbānasutta. T. W. Rhys Davids has given the following table to show the similarities between this text and other books of the Pāli Canon, though we are not in a position now to say which is earlier :

the four causes of earthquake. From these facts we may infer and trace out how this Sūtra is developed and enlarged.

1. See S. B. E., vol. xi. p. xxxiv.

Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta.			Other Books.	
Chap. I (34 sections)	1-10		Āṅguttara (Sutta-nipāta).	
„	11	...	„ (Cha-nipāta).	
„	16, 17 ¹	...	Dīgha (Sampasādaniya) and	
			Samyutta (Satipaṭṭhāna-vagga).	
„	20-34	...	Mahā-vagga VI, 28.	
„	1, 2, 3	...	Mahā-vagga VI, 29.	
Chap. II (35 sections)	13, 14, 15	...	Dīgha (Satipaṭṭhāna).	
			Majjhima „	
			Samyutta „	
			Vibhaṅga „	
„	16-24	...	Mahā-vagga VI, 30.	
„	27-35	...	Samyutta (Satipaṭṭhāna-vagga).	
Chap. III (66 sections)	1-10	...	Samyutta (Iddhipāda-vagga).	
			Āṅguttara (Aṭṭha-nipāta).	
„	11-20	...	Āṅguttara (Aṭṭha-nipāta).	
„	21-23*	...	? Eight Assemblies.	
„	24-32	} ¹ ...	Āṅguttara (Aṭṭha-nipāta).	
„	33-42	}...	Āṅguttara (Aṭṭha-nipāta).	
Chap. IV (58 sections)	2-3	...	Āṅguttara (Catuka-nipāta).	
„	7-11*	...	„ „	
Chap. V (69 sections)	10	...	Āṅguttara (Duka-nipāta).	
„	16-22	}...	„ (Catuka-nipāta).	
„	27-31*	} ¹ ...	„ „	
„	36	...	Samyutta (Satipaṭṭhāna-vagga).	
„	41-44	...	Dīgha (Mahā-sudassana-Sutta).	
„	60	...	Culla-vagga V, 8, 1.	
„	63	...	Mahā-vagga I, 38, 1.	
„	68	...	Culla-vagga XI, 1, 15.	
Chap. VI (62 sections)	16	...	Dīgha (Mahā-sudassana-Sutta).	
„	36-41	...	Culla-vagga XI, 1, 1.	

In studying the life of the Buddha, especially the latter part of his life, it impresses us that though being possessed of highest wisdom and greatest perfection in every respect, yet the Buddha is a human being. He suffered from pains and thirst as any mortal could suffer. If, he was really a divine being, possessed of supernatural power and

* Passages have every appearance of belonging to the same category.

1. Omitted by Po-fa-tsu (I P. of this paper).

if his person could cause wonders as it is related in the Pāli Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta as to how he crossed the Ganges (D. xvi. 1. 33-34.), how he saw the spirits haunting residential quarters at Pāṭaligāma (D. xvi. 1. 19-32., how the turbid waters flowed clear (D. xvi. 4. 21-25.), how the Gods Sakka and Brahmā Sahapati came to mourn for his death and the terrible earthquake (D. xvi. 6. 8-12) and so forth, then the description of :

“Now when the Blessed One had eaten the food prepared by Cunda, the worker in metal, there fell upon him a dire sickness, the disease of dysentery, and sharp pain came upon him, even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and self-possessed, bore it without complaint”¹ would be absolutely untrue.

Is it possible that at the beginning a person who could cross the Ganges by flying in the sky by means of his supernatural power, could suffer from so much pain that that even could not be expressed in words? Therefore, it would not be improper, if we say that the ‘Legendary elements’ of this Sūtra, are of a later development and added by the old editors of the text.

It is 62 years ago when the English translation of Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta had been published in the S.B.E., vol. xi. in 1881. In his introduction, T. W. Rhys Davids mentioned several Chinese translations bearing the same name as that of the Pāli text, including I P. of this paper. As he did not make any use of these texts, he desired that some one should make a comparative study, so he said :—

“.....the above-mentioned works on the Great Decease will, when published, throw valuable light on the traditions of different, though no doubt later, schools of Buddhist thought; and a detailed comparison would probably throw a very interesting light on the way in which religious legends of this kind vary and grow; and the existence of these Chinese translations afford ground for the hope that we may some day discover an earlier Sanskrit work on the same subject.”²

This is just the reason that actuated me to take up the work of comparison of the various texts.

By the way, we wish to point out a few minor mistakes in T. W. Rhys Davids’ English translation of the Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta.

1. In D. xvi. 6. 27., he has omitted to translate the following Pāli sentence :

1. See S.B.E., vol. xi. p. 72.

2. See S.B.E., vol. xi. pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

“Kāpilavatthava pi Sakyā Kapila-vatthusmiṃ Bhagavato sarī-rānaṃ thūpaṃ ca mahañca akaṃsu.”

And the Sakyas of Kapila-vatthu made a mound in Kapila-vatthu over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.¹

This is the third Stūpa amongst the ten Stūpas.

2. We find ‘Cattari vassani’ (four years) in D. xvi. 5. 29:—

“Ahaṃ cattari vassani parivasissāmī catunnaṃ vassānaṃ accayena āradḍha-cittā bhikkhu pabbājentu upasampādentu bhikkhu-bhāvāyāti”, but he puts ‘four months’ instead of ‘four years’. Below is his translation:

“.....I too, then, will remain on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months let the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive me into the lower or into the higher grade of the Order!”²

Now, let us say a few words about the Chinese translations concerning this paper.

There are several translations of the Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta or Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra in the Chinese language. Their sizes vary to such an extent that some of them consist of thirty to forty fasciculi, while others, two to three fasciculi only, or *Chüan*, as it is so called in Chinese. At a rapid glance, indeed, we find that their differences are very great. However, our chief object is to compare and try to find out their similarities as they agree with the Pāli Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta of the Dīgha-Nikāya. Our purpose will be served if the translations compared with, can be traced to the same origin as the Pāli text. We should also see whether they agree with the text in mere outlines or in details. We shall be very glad indeed, if we find a Chinese version translated from the very Pāli text under comparison.

The following four Sūtras bear similar nature to that of the Pāli text and we shall employ them for the purpose of our comparison:

I P. Buddha-parinirvāṇa-sūtra.³

白法祖譯：佛般泥洹經

II B. Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra of the Dīghāgama-sūtra.⁴

佛陀耶舍譯：長阿含經卷第二至卷第四

1. Cf. S.B.E., vol. xi. p. 134.

2. See S.B.E., vol. xi. p. 109.

3. Nanjio No. 552. Translated by Po Fa-tsu, A.D. 290-306 of the Western Tsin dynasty, A.D. 265-316. 2 fasciculi.

4. Nanjio No. 545 (2). Translated by Buddhayaśas, together with Chu Fo-nien, A.D. 412-413, of the latter Ts'in dynasty A.D. 384-417. 3 fasciculi.

III N. Parinirvāṇa-sūtra or Vaipulya-nirvāṇa-sūtra.¹

般泥洹經或佛說方等泥洹經—不載譯人附東晉錄

IV F. Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra.²

法顯譯：大般涅槃經

The Nos. I P. II B. III N. and IV F. will stand for the above-mentioned four Chinese translations respectively.

Besides these, the Nos. 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 542 and 1121, mentioned in Nanjio's Catalogue, may be used for reference.

And D. xvi. will stand for the Pāli text of the Mahā-parinibbāna-sūta.

The Chinese texts which I have used for comparison in this paper are from the Shanghai Edition of the Tripiṭaka. Besides this, in the present paper the Buddhist Tripiṭaka Dragon Edition of the Ts'ing Dynasty A.D. 1644-1911., the Song Edition of the Sung Dynasty A.D. 960-1276., and the critical publications such as 'Tsang Yao' or 'Important works of the Tripiṭaka' of the Nanking Buddhist Institute 支那內學院 have also been referred to. The Pāli text and the English translation of the Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta which have been used here are from the Pāli Text Society, London, and S.B.E., vol. xi. published by the Oxford University Press. The topics under which the comparison has been carried out are the following:—

- I. Ajātasattu consults the Buddha.
- II. The seven conditions of social welfare.
- III. The welfare of the brethren.
- IV. The lineage of faith.
- V. The Buddha at Pāṭaligāma.
- VI. The Buddha crosses the Ganges.
- VII. From Koṭigāma to Nāḍikā.
- VIII. The mirror of Truth.
- IX. Ambapālī.
- X. Ambapālī and the Licchavis.
- XI. The Buddha at Beluva and his counsel to the disciples.
- XII. At the Cāpāla Cetiya.
- XIII. Māra and the renunciation of life by the Buddha.
- XIV. Eight causes of earthquake.

1. Nanjio No. 119. Translated under the Eastern Tsin dynasty, A.D. 317-420., but the name of the translator is unknown. 2 fasciculi.

2. Nanjio No. 118. Translated by Fa-hien of the Eastern Tsin dynasty, A.D. 317-420. 3 fasciculi.

- XV. The eight assemblies, Abhibhāyatanas and Deliverance.
- XVI. Māra and the fault of Ānanda.
- XVII. Counsels to the brethren at the Mahā-vana.
- XVIII. The Buddha at Bhaṇḍagāma.
- XIX. The four great references.
- XX. The Buddha visits Cunda.
- XXI. Turbid waters flow clear.
- XXII. Pukkusa, the Malla and his offerings.
- XXIII. The last journey and the merit of Cunda's meal.
- XXIV. Spirits watching the Buddha.
- XXV. Four places of pilgrimage and minor instructions.
- XXVI. The Buddha praises Ānanda and his four qualities.
- XXVII. Former greatness of Kusinārā.
- XXVIII. The Buddha and his last disciple, Subhadda.
- XXIX. The last instructions.
- XXX. The death of the Buddha.
- XXXI. Homage of the Mallas.
- XXXII. Burial of a King.
- XXXIII. Kassapa's salutation.
- XXXIV. Application for the remains.
- XXXV. The ten Stūpas.

I. AJĀTASATTU CONSULTS THE BUDDHA.

D. xvi. 1. 1-3.

The Pāli text of the Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta begins with Ajātasattu, the son of the Queen-consort of Vedeha origin,¹ the King of Magadha sending Vassakāra as his envoy to consult with the Buddha whether it would be possible for him to conquer the Vajjians. His messenger went to the Vulture's Peak in Rājagaha and saw the Blessed One there.

There is a very similar description in the Chinese Madhyamāgama Sūtra (142)² and in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya-vinaya-saṃyuktavastu,³ fasc. 35. The points stated below show the differences with the Pāli text.

I P. Sh. XII-10. p. 9b. L. 16—p. 10a. L. 8.

(i) The Buddha was staying in the Vulture-Mountain in the kingdom of the 'King's House' with 1250 Bhikkhus.

(ii) The King told his ministers that the kingdom of the Vajjians was rich, producing different kinds of valuable gems and its people were prosperous. Therefore, he was desirous of attacking them though they might not like to live under his rule.

(iii) 'Yü-shê' (兩舍 Vassakāra) belongs to the Shi-sin (逝心 a wrong translation of 'Brāhmaṇa) caste.

(iv) "Inquiring of the Blessed One whether he (his body) is in good health and enjoying his meals as usual?"

(v) 'Then he arranged 500 vehicles, 2000 mounted horses and 2000 men on foot as attendants.'

When Vassakāra met the Buddha, the latter inquired into the welfare of the people of Magadha and then related how, when he was staying in the Sārandada Temple (急疾神舍) he taught the Vajjians the 7 Dharmas or conditions of social welfare.⁴

1. 'Vedehiputta' is not found in all the four translations compared with, but in Nanjio No. 542. (142), it has the transliteration—'the son of Vedehi'.

2. See Nanjio No. 542 (142) 'On Rain Power' (Vassakāra) Sh. XII-6. p. 71b. L. 1—p. 72a. L. 13.

3. Nanjio No. 1121. translated by Yi-tsing. fasc. 35. Sh. XII-2. p. 71b. L. 9—17.

4. For the latter portion see D. xvi. 1. 5.

The Pāli sentences: "Yathā ca te Bhagavā vyākaroti taṃ sādhukaṃ uggahetvā mamaṃ āroceyyāsi, na hi Tathāgata vitathaṃ bhaṇantīti"¹ are not found here.

II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 9b. L. 12—p. 10a. L. 1.

(i) The Tathāgata was in the Chi-ja-k'u Mountain of the Lo-Yüe City (羅關城) with 1250 men of the Mahā-bhikkhu-saṅgha.

(ii) "Though they are brave and mighty and their men are strong and powerful, yet, if I attack them, they can be subdued very easily" said the King.

(iii) 'Yu-shê (禹舍) for Vassakāra.

(iv) "Inquiring about the Most Supreme One's health, whether his every movement (sitting and moving about) is delightful and comfortable. And whether he has sufficient strength for his usual walk."

(v) "Then he mounted on a richly-decorated carriage."

Having met the Buddha, Vassakāra repeated what Ajātasattu told him. "The Vajjians are so proudly depending on their mighty force and their People's powerful strength: that they are not willing to come under my domination and I desire to chastise them. I do not know what the Blessed One would advise on this."

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 35b. L. 1-10.

(i) For 'Rājagaha' see I. I P. 1., only the word 'kingdom' is not here.

The Buddha was followed by 1250 Bhikkhus of the Great Saṅgha.

(ii) "The Vajjians depend on the fact that their country is rich and populous; their field is fertile, and many valuable gems have been produced within their kingdom. Therefore, they do not wish to become my subjects, and I would destroy and crush them to pieces."

(iii) 'The Rain House' for Vassakāra.

(iv) This paragraph is a bad translation of the contents of I. II B. 4. which will be found later. Also the paragraph adds: "Virtuous teachings are prosperous day by day."

"Wishing to hear the instructions from the All Blessed One." —'Ch'ung-yu' (衆祐) this title for the Buddha is rarely used in the translations concerned and is not found in the Pāli text.

(v) See I. I P. 5.

After Vassakāra's greetings the Buddha said: "Very well, how

1. See the last portion of S.B.E., vol. xi. ch. 1. 2.

are the King, the people, and your noble self?.' This, we may say is an enlarged portion of "Bhagavatā saddhim sammodi, sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisaretvā." D. xvi. 1. 3.

The passage: "When once I paid a visit to the Sārāṇada Cetiya of the Vajjians.....seven conditions of social welfare" begins immediately after Vassakāra met the Buddha, whereas the Pāli text narrates this after the Satte Aparihāṇiye Dhamme.¹ It seems, the translation is right.

IV F. Sh. XII-10. p. 22a.

This translation begins with the Blessed One ordering Ānanda to arrange his Nisidana in the Cāpāla Cetiya, so that he may spend some time there. This corresponds to the third chapter of the Pāli text. Therefore, for the time being we shall leave it alone, till its turn comes.

II. THE SEVEN CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL WELFARE.

D. xvi. 1. 3-5.

The Lord Buddha considers that the Vajjians are not the people to be conquered, because he once taught them the seven Conditions of social welfare (Satte Dhamme) which they are still observing rightly and without any negligence. Thereby, he asked Ānanda for confirmation.²

In Nanjio No. 542 (142), the 7 conditions of social welfare have been stated also, but the passage—"Staying at the Sārāṇada Cetiya he taught the Vajjians the Satte Aparihāṇiye Dhamme" comes before he actually explained those conditions to Vassakāra. Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 35 also expressed in the same way, though there are minor differences in comparison with other texts.

I P. Sh. XII-10. p. 10a. L. 8-15.

1. "Have you heard, Ānanda, that the Vajjians often meet in assemblies to discuss affairs of administration and prepare national defence?"

2. "Have you heard that the Vajjian King and ministers are on good terms with one another, the wise and the loyal have been kept in office, and they execute their duties faithfully and harmoniously?"

1. See D. xvi. 1. 5.

2. In IVF. Sh. XII-10. p. 24a. The Buddha preached 7 conditions of social welfare to the Licchavis of Vesālī.

3. "Are they observing the regulations (Dharma) of the Vajjians accordingly and desiring not to abrogate them nor to establish new ones?"

4. "Are their social regulations strict? Do not men and women of their community go beyond the limit of those Rules? And are the elder and the younger kind to each other?"¹

5. "Are they filial to their parents, paying homage to their teachers and elders, and accepting their advice?"²

6. "Are they keeping in mind the phenomenal significance of Heaven and Earth, fearing and worshipping the Cetiya, and observing the ceremonies of the four seasons?"

7. "Do they respect the virtuous persons, supplying the Samaṇas and Arahats with cloths, wrappers, beds and medicines who were already in the kingdom? And will do the same for those who are expected to come?"

In a similar manner, the Pāli text has got the questioning (and replying on these conditions, though their contents are different.

The Pāli sentences: "Yāvakivaṇ ca Ānanda Vajjī.....vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikaṅkha no parihāni," at the end of each condition in the Pāli text, are not found here.

And: "Imesu ca sattasu aparihāṇīyesu dhammesu Vajjī sandisanti,"³

"Akaraṇīyā va bho Gotama Vajjī Rañṇā Māgadhenā Ajātasattunā Vedehiputtana yadidaṃ yuddhassa aññatra upalāpanaya aññatra mithu-bhedā."⁴

are also not found here.

II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 10a. L. 1-10.

1. "The Buddha asked Ānanda: "Have you heard, Ānanda, that the Vajjians often gather together to discuss important affairs?" "Yes, I have heard, my Lord," replied Ānanda. Then the Blessed One told him: "If that be the case, and if both the elder and the younger are harmonious among themselves, then, none can break their unity, but they will become more prosperous."⁵

1. This is the 5th condition of social welfare in the Pali text.

2. This is the 4th condition in the Pali text.

3. See S.B.E., vol. xi. *Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta*. ch. 1. 5.

4. See S.B.E., vol. xi. *Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta*. Ch. 1. 5.

5. This repetition is found at the end of each condition, like the Pali text.

2. "Is the Vajjian King in good harmony with his ministers? Do they respect each other inspite of their positions?"
3. "Do they follow the Rules and know what should not be done? Do they perform such actions as do not go against their social customs?"
4. Same as II. I P. 5., but 'accepting their advice' is not here.
5. "Do they pay homage to their ancestral temple (Tsong-mao) and worship ghosts and deities?"¹
6. "Is morality of the Vajjian women very high that even in jokes they would not utter obscene words?"²
7. "Do they salute the Samanas and those who practise the Vinaya, and never get tired of protecting them, looking after them and supplying them with necessities?"

Two 'not-found's' as mentioned in the II. IP. are also to be applied here.

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 35b. L. 10-17.

The seven conditions of social welfare and two minor 'not-found's' here are exactly the same as that of the II. I P. of this paper.

III. THE WELFARE OF THE BRETHREN.

D. xvi. 1. 6-12.

The number of the conditions of welfare of the Buddhist Bhikkhus is stated differently in the following texts.

I P. 7 seven conditions.

II B. 6 seven conditions and 2 six conditions.

III N. 7 seven conditions and 1 six conditions.

IV F. 7 seven conditions.

D xvi. 5 seven conditions and 1 six conditions.

And we find in Nanjio No. 542(142):

6 seven conditions and 1 six conditions.

Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 35: 6 seven conditions and 1 six conditions though the essential parts of the last one have been developed and moulded according to the ideas of the Mūlasarvāstivāda School.

So different are the numbers of the conditions, that their contents must be different. However we shall try to present them in a manner

1. This is the 6th condition in the Pali text, but it is very foreign to the Buddhist ideas.

2. This is the 5th condition in the Pali text.

as clear and concise as possible, though we have not got sufficient space to put down the whole lot.¹

I P. Sh. XII-10. p. 10a. L. 15—p. 11a. L. 16.

In this text Ānanda is not sent to the neighbourhood of Rājagaha (Rājagahaṃ upanissāya) to gather Bhikkhus to come to the Upaṭṭhāna-sālā, as it is alleged in the Pāli text, but to the Vulture-Mountain.

(i). The first 7 conditions.

This is stated as 'seven Sīla dhammā.' And at the end of each dhamma, 'the dhamma may last long' is added. However, this differs from "Vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni" of the Pāli text.

1. This is the same as in the Pāli text, but the line—'to recite Suttas' is added.

2. "Both the elder and the younger rise in concord, and sit in concord." But the Pāli words: "Samaggā saṅgha-karaṇiyāni karissanti." are not found.²

3. "While sitting and getting up one should not think of household life, wife and children." Not in Pali.

4. "On meditating upon the 5 destructions in the forest." Not in Pali.

5. Same as in the Pali text.

6. "Keep in mind to observe the 'Law' and have great respect and regard for the Suttas and Vinaya." Not in Pali.

7. "Practise the 250 Rules, by which one will obtain the Arahatsip. And you should not refuse anybody who desires to learn the Doctrine and become a novice. Whatever property such as cloths, wrappers, eatables and drinkables the novices possess, that should be provided for common use. If one falls ill, all should look after him carefully." Not in Pali.

(ii) The second 7 conditions.

1. "Bhikkhus should not be fond of sleep ; while sleeping, they should not brood over other affairs." Not in Pali.

1. In IVF. Sh. XII-10. p. 24a. L. 13—p. 24b. L. 6. has also been mentioned the 7 seven conditions, but it was preached to the Licchavis of Vesālī and has little similarity with other texts.

2. D. xvi. 1. 6.

2. "You should be delighted in purity but not in activities." Not in Pali.

3. On—living with the wise one should not be quarrelsome with others. Not in Pali.

4. On—not expecting salutations from others. Not in Pali.

5. "When one has only reached a little distance of the 'Way', one should not be proud and make a show of it."¹

6. "Do not rouse one's passion, and the mind should be well concentrated." Not in Pali.

7. "Always be fond of solitude, using straw-mattress as bed and you should not be greedy of wealth and support." Not in Pali.

(iii) The third 7 conditions.

1. On—not hating others when they get presents. Not in Pali.

2. "One should have sense of shame." Not in Pali.

3. "One is worthy of the Suttas and Vinaya."²

4. "One's mind always should remember the Sutta-dhamma." Not in Pali.

5. "At any moment you should not dislike each other." Not in Pali.

6. "Often try to understand the Sutta-dhamma." Not in Pali.

7. "While studying the Sutta you should read aloud and meditate upon its inner meaning." Not in Pali.

(iv) The fourth 7 conditions.

1. On—Bhikkhus should observe the Buddhist Rules and should not forget the Buddha's benevolence which he did for them. Not in Pali.

2. On—one should bind oneself to the Buddha-dhamma. Not in Pali.

3. The content is the same as III.I P. (i).5., but the object here is Bhikkhu-saṅgha.

4. "Should pay attention to the observance of the Vinaya and be patient." Not in Pali.

5. On—following the Sutta-vinaya and thinking of human life as momentary. Not in Pali.

1. This slightly resembles the 7th condition of the 2nd 7 conditions of the Pali text.

2. This is to say one should act according to their instructions.

6. On—one should not be greedy of food and bed. Not in Pali.
7. On—Bhikkhus should not let their minds get loose and run after the evil thoughts like all fools.

(v) The fifth 7 conditions.

1. On—one should value the Suttas as the fools value their precious treasure; and the benevolence one receives from them which is even greater than that of one's parents. Not in Pali.

2. On—one should take moderate food and be not hankering after taste. Not in Pali.

3. On—one should always be aware of the messenger of Death, and should not be fond of diving into the waves of death and rebirth, because human life is full of sorrow and anxieties. Moreover one should consider one's body as filthy as dirty dust. Not in Pali.

4. On—being earnest and keeping proper guard over one's body, speech and mind, so that one should easily obtain Enlightenment. Not in Pali.

5. On—controlling the six sense-organs and suppress the three great evils: desire, anger and ignorance. Not in Pali.

6. On—one's mind being upright and religious and observing the pure Sila, thereby, one will not have any fear or be ashamed of anybody. Not in Pali.

7. On—hearing the Sutta-vinaya from the wise and teaching such learning to stupid persons. Not in Pali.

(vi) The sixth 7 conditions.

1. On—meditating upon the Suttas, the Dhamma and the body, and giving up the lustful desires. Not in Pali.

2. On—keeping in mind to practise the teachings of the Blessed One which purifies and cleanses the dirty mind even better than any washing soap? Not in Pali.

3. On—forcing the mind to observe the pure Sila, one should be as brave as a good soldier leading a vanguard into the battle-field. Not in Pali.

4. On—one should know how far one has advanced in the Path of Dhamma, and should not be afraid of hardship. Not in Pali.

5. On—one should respect one's co-workers as brothers and behave properly over one's action, speech and thought.¹

1. This partly agrees with D. xvi. 1. 11., the first condition of the 'Chāparihāniye dhamme.'

6. On—thinking of this body as full of impurity, one cannot get rid of sufferings out of it.

7. On—thinking of impermanence one considers that things in this world are like empty dreams, which will vanish away without any trace.

(vii) The seventh 7 conditions.

1. On—having compassion for everyone, including persons who have scolded the practitioner. Not in Pali.

2. On—controlling the tongue, so that it may not cause troubles. Not in Pali.

3. On—how to prevent the lustful thought and anger. Not in Pali.

4. On—one should not envy other Bhikkhus obtaining gifts such as meals, medicine, clothes and so forth from their donors. Not in Pali.

5. On—inquiring about how to practise the Rules of the Vinaya in case of ignorance; one should always keep in mind the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, and be compassionate. Not in Pali.

6. On—person who cry over the deceased, because they do not understand the teachings of the Blessed One. Amongst all the doctrines, the one which was preached by the Buddha is the most supreme. If one practises regularly and interminably, one is sure to reach the final goal. Not in Pali.

7. On—thinking and acting in accordance with the Buddhist Suttas. Not in Pali.

When the description of the 7 seven conditions is over, it is summed up at the end of the last one thus :

“Observing these 49 conditions, one should push forward like the flow of water, which first reaches brooks, then streams, then rivers and last the ocean. The Bhikkhus should be like the water which finally flows to the ocean. If they practise the Path of Dhamma incessantly, they will undoubtedly obtain Arahatsip.” Not in Pali.

II B. SH. XII-9. p. 10a. L. 10—p. 10b. L.9.

The account of the Buddha's sending Ānanda to gather Bhikkhus who were in the neighbourhood of Rājagaha is exactly the same as in the Pāli text.

(i) The first seven conditions.

These conditions are stated as ‘Undecaying dhammas.’

1. “.....to discuss the proper meaning.”

2. "Both the senior and the junior live together harmoniously and respectfully." Not in Pali.

3. "Following the regulations know that what is forbidden. And you should never go against the customs."

4. "A Bhikkhu should be honoured if he is very learned and his power can protect the Saṅgha."¹

5. "Watch over the trends of thought. Be obedient and filial. Make this as the chief object of behaviour." Not in Pali.

6. "Practise the pure Brahmachariya, and you should not become a slave of passions."²

7. "Think of others first and self afterwards. And you should not be greedy of fame and wealth." Not in Pali.

The sentence—"If both the elder and the younger live peacefully, then, the Dhamma cannot be destroyed," is added to each of these conditions.

(ii). The second 7 conditions.

1. Same as in the Pali text.³

2. Same as in the Pali text.

3. "One should sleep less and get rid of drowsiness." Not in Pali.

4. "One should not be engaged in idle talks with people." Not in Pali.

5. "One will not praise oneself when he is not possessed of virtues." (that is to say he should be ashamed of himself). Not in Pali.

6. Same as in the Pali text.⁴

7. "One should be fond of staying alone in a solitary forest."⁵

(iii) The third 7 conditions.

These conditions are similar to those of the third conditions of the Pali text. But we have not got a short note which is added to each of them at the end.⁶

1. This slightly resembles the Pāli text. See D. xvi. 1. 6.

2. The last sentence resembles that of the 5th condition of D. xvi. 1.6.

3. See D. xvi. 1. 7. (the 1st and 2nd conditions).

4. See D. xvi. 1. 7. the 6th one.

5. Same as the 6th condition of D. xvi. 1. 6.

6. See D. xvi. 1. 8.

1. ".....trusting in the Tathāgata that he is completely enlightened and endowed with ten titles."
2. ".....be ashamed of one's defects."
3. "One should know what is to be ashamed of and be shameful to commit sins."
4. On 'full of learning,' that is to say one should realise the inner meaning and ideals of the Doctrine and should practise the pure Brahmachariya.
5. ".....to destroy the evil and cultivate the good, and never give it up but learn it diligently."
6. "Whatever have been learnt previously, you should never forget them."
7. ".....know the nature of growth and decay which will lead you to become a great sage and this knowledge will stop all the fountains of sufferings."

Compared with these the Pali version seems to be very simple.

(iv) The fourth 7 conditions.

These conditions are entirely different from the Pali text.

1. "Salute the Buddha."
2. "Salute the Dhamma."
3. "Salute the Saṅgha."
4. "Salute the Vinaya."
5. "Salute the Samādhi."
6. "Salute the Parents."
7. "Salute those who possess good control over themselves."

(v) The fifth 7 conditions.

Nos. 5, 6, 7, in this group are the same as Nos. 1, 2, 3, of the Pali text, D. xvi. 1. 1. 10. Other conditions are slightly different.

1. "Visualize that this body is impure."
2. "Visualize that the meals which we eat are not clean."
3. "You should not be delighted to live in this world."
4. "Always keep in mind the thought of death."

(vi) The sixth 7 conditions.

These conditions exactly agree with the 4th 7 conditions of the Pali text, but here a very short note is added to the first condition of this translation.

The translation.

The Pali text.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1. To cultivate the wisdom of mindfulness.—live a solitary life, without greediness and activities. | 1. Sati-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhā-vessanti. |
| 2. To cultivate the wisdom of Dhamma (search after the Truth). | 2. Dhamma-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvēssanti. |
| 3. To cultivate the wisdom of energy. | 3. Viriya-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvēssanti. |
| 4. To cultivate the wisdom of joy. | 4. Pīti-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhā-vessanti. |
| 5. To cultivate the wisdom of peace. | 5. Passaddhi-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvēssanti. |
| 6. To cultivate the wisdom of meditation. | 6. Samādhi-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvēssanti. |
| 7. To cultivate the wisdom of equanimity of mind. ² | 7. Upekhā-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvēssanti. ¹ |

(vii) The first 6 conditions.

This group agrees with the last 6 conditions of the Pali text to a large extent. However, we find sometimes, something is added to the translation and sometimes something is missing.³

1. In action, one should always be compassionate and should do no harm to the living beings.

2. In speech, one should utter kind and soft words but not harsh ones.

3. In thought, one should have sympathy and kindness but not hostile attitude towards others.

4. When one receives gifts, they should be equally shared with the Saṅgha.

5. To observe the Rules which are intact, perfect, unspotted, and unblemished of the Holy and the Wise. And one should stick to them.

6. To be enlightened in the doctrines of the Holy and the Wise, so that one may put a stop to the sufferings.

1. See D. xvi. 1. 9.

2. Literally it should be read as "To cultivate the wisdom of protection."

3. See D. xvi. 1. 11.

(viii) The second 6 conditions.

This group of conditions cannot be found in the Pali text.

1. To think of the Buddha.
2. To think of the Dhamma.
3. To think of the Saṅgha.
4. To think of the Vinaya.
5. To think of the Dāna.
6. To think of the Deva.

Here ends the eight groups of conditions of II B.

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 35b. L. 17—p. 36b. L. 4.

The passage of 'the Buddha sending Ānanda to gather Bhikkhus' is the same as in the Pali text.

(i) The first 7 conditions.

1. "You should always assemble together to expound the doctrine and never get tired of so doing."
2. "You should live peacefully and help each other to follow the proper way."—Not in Pali.
3. "You should not adopt anything new nor abolish the old ones. And should also be delighted to stay in the solitary forest."
4. "Both the elder and the younger, the senior and the junior should give each other mutual respect."¹
5. "You should respect and be filial to the teachers and keep in mind their instructions and advice."
6. "You should observe the Dhamma, practise Brahmachariya and be respecting the Suttas and the Vinaya."—Not in Pali.
7. "You should properly support the Holy Ones and teach the novices. And the new members of the Saṅgha, they should be supplied with clothes, food, bed and medicines."

(ii) The second 7 conditions.

1. "Stick to the life of purity and solitude and never be fond of activities."
2. "Stick to the desirelessness and do not hanker after offerings and gifts."—Not in Pali.
3. "Stick to forbearance and quarrel with no one."—Not in Pali.

1. Put 4 and 5 together which resemble the 4th condition of the Pali text D. xvi. 1. 6.

4. "Remain in solitude and keep aloof from the crowd."
5. "Keep the Doctrine in mind and harbour not any other thought."—Not in Pali.
6. "Concentrate the mind in order to contemplate on Samādhi."—Not in Pali.
7. "Live a simple life: wearing rough clothes, feeding on coarse meals and sleeping only on straw beds."—Not in Pali.

(iii). The third 7 conditions.

These conditions are approximately the same as that of III. II B. (iv).....the fourth 7 conditions, except the 6th one; and the order which has been shown here is also differently arranged.

1. Salute the Buddha with full devotion and take no refuge to anybody else.
2. Salute the Dhamma and fix your mind on the Doctrine.
3. Salute the Saṅgha and act according to their instructions.
4. Salute the Sila and respect those who observe the Rules.
5. Salute the Suttas and respect those who preach them.
6. Salute the pure ones who completely subdued their desires.
7. Salute the Samādhi and respect those who practise meditation.

The sentence..... 'take no refuge to anybody else' is added to each of these conditions.

(iv) The fourth 7 conditions.

Under the title of 'seven kinds of wealth' it gives us the following 7 conditions.

1. One should have faith.
2. One should have Sila.
3. One should have repentance.
4. One should have shame.
5. One should learn and never get tired of it.
6. One should have wisdom.
7. One should have Dhamma-dāna.

This more or less resembles the third 7 conditions of the Pali text, D.xvi.1.8.

(v). The fifth 7 conditions.

These 7 conditions are the same as the fourth 7 conditions of the Pali text, D. xvi. 1.9.—Satta-sambojjhaṅgā. But at the end of almost

V. THE BUDDHA AT PĀṬALIGĀMA

D.xvi.1.19—32.

The events which took place during the Buddha's stay at Pāṭaligāma were: 1. The warm and picturesque welcome by the Upāsakas. 2. The five good and bad results of a virtuous person and a sinner. 3. With his divine eyes the Blessed One saw the Devatās haunting at Pāṭaligāma. On the whole, the Chinese translations are closely corresponding to the Pali text, though differing slightly in details.

These events have also been mentioned in Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 36.Sh.XVII-2.pp.73-74. But this translation gives Ch'ih-ti for the Pāli 'Āvasathāgāra', the former literally means 'a shrine' or a 'Cetiya'.

I P. Sh.XX-10.p.11b.L.5—p.12a.L.1.

The Gods asked the Brāhmaṇas and householders to welcome the Buddha, who was sitting under a tree.

There is no indication of inviting him to the Āvasathāgāra and no description of how they sat.¹

The second bad result is, "one will not know the meaning of the Doctrine."²

The second good result is, "one will get religious merits."³

The Buddha went to a village A-wei by name, where with his divine eyes he saw the Gods haunting residential quarters at Pāṭaligāma.

The name of Sunīdha is not found here.

The Buddha said some complimentary words on the place of Pāṭaligāma. And having finished his meal at Vassakāra's, he blessed him and advised him how to behave as a good officer. The lines of advice differs greatly from the Pali Gāthā.

The text writes 'Buddha's gate' and 'Buddha's little stream' for the Pali 'Gotama-dvāraṃ' and 'Gotama-litthaṃ'.⁴

II B. Sh. XII-9.p.10b.L.9—p.11a.L.12.

Here, the text describes the perfect appearance of the Buddha and how he instructed the Upāsakas to observe the five precepts before he had entered into their preaching-hall (Āvasathāgāra).

1. Cf. D. xvi. 1. 31—32.

2. Cf. D. xvi. 1. 24. "Kalyāno kitti-saddo abbhuggacchati."

3. Cf. D. xvi. 1. 23. "Pāpaka kitti-saddo abbhuggacchati."

4. See D. xvi. 1. 22.

The second bad result of not being virtuous is, "Whatever he may get, but it will be exhausted very soon."

The fourth of five bad results here is that of the second of the Pali text, that is, one's evil fame will spread far and wide.

As for the good result of 'being virtuous, its order is the same as mentioned above, but its meaning is just the reverse.

After his prophecy that Pāṭaligāma would be destroyed by three elements, e.g., fire, water and conspiracy, the Upāsakas of that town invited him for dinner, and he was not invited by Vassakāra, the minister of Magadha. The Gāthā of blessing is corresponding to the Pali text.

When the Buddha left Pāṭaligāma, Vassakāra was seeing him off.

IIIN, Sh. XII-10. p. 36b. L. 4.—p. 37a. L. 12.

This passage closely resembles V.I P. (see earlier); only in the latter portion, we find that the Gāthā on Buddha's blessing Vassakāra is different. In it, it seems, that this translation has combined both V.I P. and V.II B.

VI. THE BUDDHA CROSSES THE GANGES

D. xvi. l. 33-34.

The Blessed one showed some miracle when he crossed the Ganges.

In Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 36. Sh. XVII-2. p. 74., there is a 12 sentence Gāthā on his crossing the Ganges.

I P. Sh. XII-10, p. 12a, L. 1—2.

When the Buddha crossed the Ganges by means of his supernatural power, he uttered a verse, as we find it in the Pali text¹ and also in other translations. But unfortunately that verse is not found here.

II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 11a. L. 12-15.

The Chinese verse which was uttered by the Buddha differs greatly from the Pali text. It runs thus:

"The Buddha is the captain of a Ocean-ship, who
Prepares bridges for crossing rivers and streams.

1. See D. xvi. l. 34. and S.B.E., vol. xi. pp. 21—22.

The Mahāyāna is the carriage of the Truth,
 It carries all, including Gods and men.
 It is, by that means, he, the Master, crossed over to
 The other side of the river and became the Free and the Wise.
 He desired to let all his disciples throw
 Asunder the fetters and attain Nirvāṇa."

IIIN. Sh. XII-10. p. 37a. L. 11—15.

The passage and the Gāthā are the same as VI. II B.

VII. FROM KOṬIGĀMA TO NĀDIKĀ

D. xvi. 2. 1—8.

In Koṭigāma he exalted the Bhikkhus with the four Noble Truths and while staying at Nādikā, he replied the questions of Ānanda regarding certain persons' destination after their death.

In Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 36, Sh. XVII-2. p. 74. we have 'Hsiao-shê—"a little house," for Koṭigāma and 'Selling-Reed Village' for Nādikā. No name of the Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunīs or Upāsakas is mentioned in the present passage.

I P. Sh. XII-10. p. 12a, L. 3—11.

Chü-lien village for Koṭigāma.

A simile is given; it says that those who have attained salvation and conquered the three desires, will be looked as Kings over the multitude. The exposition of the Four Noble Truths is not found.

From Chü-lien (Koṭigāma), he proceeded to the 'Country of Happiness and Comfort' (Nādikā). Having seated himself under a Bell (ghaṇṭī) Tree (Pali: Giñjakāvasatha—brick hall), he sent the Bhikkhus to the town for begging alms. Later on, they returned with the news that many people of that country had died. The question regarding their destination after death was asked by the Bhikkhus, but not by Ānanda, as it is stated in the Pali text.

The names of the Upāsakas have been registered on the Death-roll. No name of the Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunīs or Upāsikās is mentioned here. The total number of Upāsakas who died there is about 1200. This figure, however, was seen by the divine eyes of the Lord Buddha (and not reported by the Bhikkhus). And later on, he told the different conditions of their future existence.

II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 11a. L. 16—p. 11b. L. 6.

The Lord Buddha proceeded from Vajji to Chū-li (Koṭigāma) and seated himself in a grove.

The Gāthā coming after the four stages of cultivation differs from the Pāli text.¹ It runs:

“The best of all are Sila, samādhi, paññā and vimutti,
Which can only be distinguished by the Blessed One.

Having got rid of all sufferings,
He preached that Truth to others,
And caused them to destroy the
Root of death and rebirth.”

Here are 12 names of Upāsakas who died at the Nāḍikā village.
No Bhikkhu's or Bhikkhunī's name is mentioned.

The Chinese names	The Pāli names
1. Kia-kia-lo?	1. Sālha (Bhikkhu)
2. Kia-leng-kia (Kālīṅga)	2. Nandā (Bhikkhunī)
3. Pi-kia-t'o (Vikaṭa)	3. Sudatta (Upāsaka)
4. Kia-li-shu?	4. Sūjātā (Upāsikā)
5. Che-lu?	5. Kakudha (Upāsaka)
6. Po-ye-lu?	6. Kālīṅga „
7. P'o-tou-lu (Bhadra?)	7. Nikāṭa „
8. Su-p'o-tou-lu (Subhadra?)	8. Kaṭissabha „
9. T'o-li-she-nu?	9. Tuṭṭha „
10. Su-ta-li-she-nu?	10. Santuṭṭha „
11. Ye-shu, (Yaśa)	11. Bhadda „
12. Ye-shu-to-lu (Yaśodhara)	12. Subhadda „

Besides this, Ānanda said that at a certain time 50 persons died and at another time 500 persons died. The Buddha spoke to him on the three classifications of their future destinations.

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 37a. L. 16—p. 37b. L. 4.

The preaching of the four noble Truths is missing, but the text puts emphasis on Sila, Samādhi and Paññā.

‘The district of Happiness and Comfort’ for Nāḍikā.

The meaning of the names of the Upāsakas have been translated into Chinese. Besides, there are 300 Upāsakas and 500 Upāsikās also on the death roll.

1. See D. xvi. 2. 3.

VIII. THE MIRROR OF TRUTH

D.xvi.2.9—10.

The meaning of the mirror of Truth is that—if one has deep faith in the Buddhist Trinity (the Buddha, Dhamma, Saṅgha), then, at the moment of death, he will be quite confident as to what destination in the future world he would go.

Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 36. Sh. XVII—2.p. 74b. says that the meaning of the mirror of truth is to respect the Buddhist Trinity and the noble Pure Sila.

I P. Sh. XII-10.p.12a.L.11—19.

While telling the future destination of the Upāsakas of Nāḍikā the Buddha felt somewhat tired and spoke to them on the 12 Pratyayas and the means of putting 'existence' to an end. Thereby one may no longer subject himself to the eternal wheel of death and rebirth. This differs from the Pali text, though at the end of the passage it mentions that one should respect the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha.

II B. Sh.XII-9.p.11b.L.6—12.

This corresponds to the Pali text. But the repetition of: 'Iti sīlam iti samādhi iti paññā pe seyyathīdaṃ kāmāsavā bhavāsavā diṭṭhāsavā avijjāsavā¹ ti.' is not found here.

III N. Sh.XII-10.p.37b.L.4—12.

We find in this text that except keeping the four joys in mind, e.g., the joy for the Buddha, Dhamma, Saṅgha and Sila, the remaining portion is the same as that of VIII. I P.

IX. AMBAPĀLI

D.xvi.2.10.

The description of Ambapālī's interview with the Blessed One is very simple in the Pāli text, whereas in the Chinese translation it is more elaborate.

In Nanjio No. 1121.fasc. 36.Sh.XVII-2.p.74—75. it writes 'Kuang Yen' (the widely decorated city) for Vesāli, and 'Li-ku-pi' for

1. See D. xvi. 2. 10.

'Licchavi'. Before Ambapālī's approaching to the Buddha, he instructed the Bhikkhus to control their minds.

I P. Sh.XII-10.p.12a.L.18—p.13a.L.8.

The distance from Nāḍikā to Vesālī is less than 7 *lid* (about 2 miles). There, the Buddha stayed in the Mango-grove (of Ambapālī).

Ambapālī came out of the city of Vesālī with her 500 female followers to pay homage to the Buddha and his 1000 disciples. Before her approach, he instructed the Bhikkhus to keep watch over their minds, so that they might not be tempted by the false beauty of those courtezans, who looked like painted vessels, containing dirty stuffs inside, though outwardly they seemed so beautiful. This is quite different from the Pāli sentence :

"Sato bhikkhave bhikkhu vihareyya sampajāna."¹

When Ambapālī met the Buddha, the latter questioned her for what reason she had come there, why she had kept those 500 courtezans and whether she would like to live in such a state of life hereafter as she used to. Ambapālī confessed her foolishness and invited the Blessed One to have a meal at her residence.

The questioning here is again not corresponding to the Pali text.

II B. Sh.XII-9.p.11b.L.12—17.

The Lord Buddha started from Vajji for Vesālī and seated himself under a tree.

When Ambapālī saw the Blessed One, it appeared to her that he was like the moon amongst the stars. Having heard his doctrines, she entreated him cordially to accept her as an Upāsikā and promised that she would observe the five precepts very strictly till the end of her life.

This, however differs from the Pali text and the passage—

"Sato.....vihareyya sampajāna" is also not found here.

III N. Sh. XII-10.p.37b.L.13—p.38a. L.7.

The first part of this passage is roughly corresponding to the visit of Ambapālī in IX. IP., though there are slight differences here and there.

1. See D. xvi. 2. 12—13.

The Buddha told Ambapāli that there were five blessings and five hindrances of a woman's being virtuous or unchaste.

The five blessings.

1. People will praise her.
2. She will not be afraid of officials of the State.
3. Her soul and body are in a peaceful condition.
4. She will be born in Heaven after death.
5. From the purity of action she will enter into the Path of Nirvāṇa.

The five hindrances.

1. Evil fame.
2. The law is against such bad action.
3. Being always in a state of suspicion.
4. The person will perish in Hell after death.
5. When the sufferings in the hell is over she will take birth in the world of animals.

Further, the Lord Buddha said to her that woman is often attacked by some diseases and she is troubled by menstruation along with other family fetters.

In the Mahā-parinirvāṇa Sūtra translated by Fa-hien (Nanjio No. 118) IV F. Sh. XII-10.p.24b.L.13—p.25a.L.4., we find that when Ambapāli heard that the Blessed One was going to attain Nirvāṇa, she came to see him and implored him to stay on in this world. However, before her approach, he instructed the Bhikkhus to be mindful and not to be tempted by her false beauty which was impermanent and full of impurity.

X. AMBAPĀLI AND THE LICCHAVIS

D.xvi.2.15—20.

In this passage we find a colourful picture of the costumes of the Licchavis and of how they felt hopeless when they learnt that Ambapāli has already invited the Buddha to take meals with her. It seems the old editor of the Pali text here wanted to emphasise the deep faith of Ambapāli.

I P. Sh.XII-10.p.12b L.9—13a.L.9.

The description of the colours of the Licchavi' procession is five in number, e.g., blue (blue horses, chariots, cloths, wrappers,

canopies, flags and attendants wearing blue.), yellow, red, white and black. The Pali text gives only the former four colours.

No accident happened on the way between Ambapālī and the Licchavis.

Among the Licchavis there was a person Ping-tseu by name who gazed upon the Buddha attentively, the latter asked him the reason. Later on, he was told about the 5 powers of virtue of the Buddha by the Blessed One.

The Lord Buddha went to the city of Vesālī to take his meal at Ambapālī's residence. While proceeding, the people there said that Gotama the Buddha was like the moon amidst the stars of his disciples.

Here, Ambapālī does not offer her garden to the Buddha.

II B. Sh.XII-9.p.11b.L.18—p.12b.12.

Here the colours of the Licchavis are five. The incident between Ambapālī and the Licchavis is closely corresponding to the Pali text. Before their approach to the place where he was, the Buddha instructed the Bhikkus to guard their minds carefully at every moment. This corresponds to the Pali words: "Sato vihareyya sampajāno"—D.xvi.2.12—13., though the latter passage appeared before the narrative of the arrival of Ambapālī to pay homage to the Buddha.

Amongst the Licchavis there was a Brāhmaṇa Pin-tseu¹ by name who praised the Buddha with a Gāthā, by which he caused the Licchavis to offer their valuable clothes to him and he again presented them to the Lord. Then, the Buddha told him about the five gems, which were very difficult to obtain.

Having taken meal and accepted the offer of her garden to the Saṅgha, the Buddha uttered a Gāthā on this occasion, and preached religious teachings to her. At that very moment, she attained the insight of Dharma. Then Ambapālī spoke to the Blessed One that she would thenceforward take refuge in the Three Gems of Buddhism and be a devoted Upāsikā.

III N. Sh.XII-10.p.38a.L.7—p.38b.L.8.

There are only four colours here, e.g., blue, yellow, red and white.

1. Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 36, it says: "A Brāhmaṇa is called 'Yellow-Hair Mānava.'"

The Gāthā uttered by Ping-tseu is quite different from that of X.I P., the former consists of 12 sentences and the later 16 sentences.

The five difficult obtainable Dharmas (or gems) here, are not fundamentally different from X.II B. They have got many explanatory words.

When the Buddha finished his luncheon at Ambapālī's residence, he praised her and said that the charitable persons would procure great benefit.

It is mentioned here that Ambapālī offered her garden to the Buddha.

IV F. Sh.XII-10.p.23b.L.19—p.24b.L.13.

The Licchavis of Vesālī and their wives heard that the Lord Buddha had given up his life, they came with colourful dresses to implore him to remain in this world for one Kalpa. In this connection the Blessed One showed them the seven conditions of social welfare, and also showed the Bhikkhus the 49 conditions of welfare of the Saṅgha. These conditions though they have little agreement with the Pali text, still they are not so much different from the main points of the translations (see ch.II. and III. of this paper). And there is no connection between Ambapālī and the Licchavis.

XI. THE BUDDHA AT BELUVA AND HIS COUNSELS TO HIS DISCIPLES

The Lord Buddha showed the first sign of physical weakness and desired to enter into Nirvāṇa, though finally he checked the idea on account of the absence of his disciples.

Nanjio No. 1121.fasc.36. Sh.XVII-2.p.75b., it says that the Blessed One was staying in the Śimsāpā-forest, which was situated on the Bamboo-grove (Beluva). The content here agrees with that of the Pali text.

Here ends the 2nd chapter of the Pali text.

I P. Sh.XII-10.p.13a.L.9—19.

From Vesālī, the Lord Buddha went to the village of 'Bamboo-Beauty' (Beluva). At that time, there was a big famine in Vesālī, therefore he sent the Bhikkhus to spend their rainy season in the country of Sha-lo-ti (Śrāvastī?) which was near the border of Vesālī.

Ānanda told the Blessed One that he should not attain Nirvāṇa

while all his disciples were absent. This, in the Pali Text was thought out by the Buddha himself.¹

The Pali words: 'Atta-dīpā, atta-saraṇā anañña-saraṇā' and the description of how to become self-light and self-refuge, is expressed quite differently in this translation.

II B. Sh.XII-9.p.12b.L.12—p.13a.L.14.

When the Buddha reached the Bamboo-grove (Beluva), a Brāhmaṇa Visuddhiya by name invited him to meal and the Lord Buddha uttered a verse on this occasion.

The remaining portion is closely corresponding to the Pali text.

III N. Sh.XII-10.p.38b.L.—20.

Now they came to the district of 'Bamboo-Beauty, because a big famine raged there, the Buddha sent the Bhikkhus to Vesāli and the village of the Vajjians, so that they might spend their rainy season in those places. He and Ānanda alone went to the Wei-sha (Vasa?) village. While proceeding, he was attacked by severe disease. He felt his whole body to be extremely painful and he wished to give up his life.

The remaining portion is more or less corresponding to the Pali text, but the Pali passage—"Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda na evaṃ hoti" ahaṃ "bhikkhu-saṃgham pariharissāmi" vā 'mam' uddesiko bhikkhu-saṃgho" ti vā"² is not to be found in the Chinese translation. Moreover, it gives much emphasis on the impermanence of life, which, even the Gods who have got the best longevity cannot escape. This, obviously is not in the Pali text.

XII. AT THE CĀPĀLA CETIYA.

D.xvi.3.1—6

The text gives the main idea that the Tathāgata wished Ānanda to request him to stay on in this world for one Kalpa for the good of mankind.

1. See D. xvi. 2. 23.

2. See D. xvi, 2. 25.

In Nanjio No. 1121, fasc. 36.Sh XVII-2. p. 76., it has given the same description as we find in the Pali text, but no particular name of Cetiya of Vesāli is mentioned.

I P. Sh. XII-10.p. 13a. L. 19—p. 13b, L.6.

Having begged his alms and returned to the *Chi-Chi* (Sārandada Cetiya) divine Tree¹ from Vesāli, Ānanda went to the Buddha and asked him why he was not going to attain Nirvāṇa! Then, he replied him with 14 proper names, mostly referring to the States of India and said that all those places were very delightful. In the Pali text, however, we find 7 names only, and all of them, except one (Vesāli), are the names of Cetiya.

II B. Sh. XII-9. p, 13a, L. 14.—18,

Here, the translation does not mention the names of Cetiya and the Buddha did not go to Vesāli city for alms-begging.

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 38b. L. 20—p. 39a. L. 5.

The Tathāgata arrived at Vesāli and stopped for a while at the Monkey-Building, thence he returned to *Chi-Chi* (Sārandada Cetiya) Shrine. There he told Ānanda that Vesāli and the Vajji country and other 16 great kingdoms were very joyous. He also alleged that the gold in the Hiraññavati river was plentiful.

IV F. Sh. XII-10. p. 22a. L. 9—16.

Henceforth we shall regularly compare this translation with the Pali text and other Chinese translations. It is obvious that this text due to unknown reasons does not contain anything corresponding to the first two chapters of the Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta.

The 7 proper names quite agree with the Pali text, so also is the remaining portion.

I. Cf. Cāpāla Cetiya.

XIII. MĀRA AND THE RENUNCIATION OF LIFE
BY THE BUDDHA

D. xvi. 3. 7—12.

Māra, the Evil One approached the Buddha and urged him to renounce his life.

In Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 36. Sh. XVII-2.p. 76., the abilities of the disciples of Buddha are not so minutely stated as in the Pali text.

I P. Sh. XII-10. p. 13b. L. 6—9,

Here, the Blessed One did not say that after three months he would attain Nirvāṇa, but the Māra understood that soon he would take leave from this world.

The words spoken by the Māra to the Buddha are not so perfectly stated as in the Pali text.¹

No Gāthā was uttered by the Buddha while renouncing his life.

II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 13a. L. 18—p. 13b. L. 8.

In the Pali text, the Māra repeated the speech which was formerly addressed to him by the Buddha that until his religion was firmly established, he would not attain Nirvāṇa. But here the Buddha had a conversation with Māra, the Evil One, in a form which slightly differs from the Pali text, though its contents are more or less the same.

The Buddha even mentioned the place where he would die.

The Gāthā of renouncing his life runs thus :

“Amongst all the Saṃkhāra of existence and
Non-existence, now I give up the former.

With inward profound meditation,
Will I go like a bird as it comes out of its egg-shell.”

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 39a. L. 5—11.

Māra, the Evil One told the Tathāgata that when he (the Lord) was wandering about on the banks of the river Nerañjarā, he had said to him (Māra) that he would not die, until his religion was firmly established. Therefore, now he came to ask him to keep that promise.

1. Cf. D. xvi. 3. 7—10.

While giving up his life, his illumination had prevailed everywhere and the Gods crowded the sky.

The Gāthā here differs from other texts. It runs :

“Of all the immeasurable qualities,
Now, I give up the Saṃkhāra.
I have delivered everyone worthy
Both far and near.”

IV F. Sh. XII-10. p. 22a. L.16—22b. L.3.

This text also gives reference to the promise of the Buddha when he was somewhere near the Nerañjarā river.

The Gāthā here runs :

“All beings follow the cycle of death and rebirth,
I too have birth and now death.
But, I will not follow Bhava-Saṃkhārā,
And I wish to abandon all activities.”

XIV. EIGHT CAUSES OF EARTHQUAKE.

D. xvi. 3.13—20.

While abandoning his life, there was a terrible earthquake. Ānanda came to the Buddha and asked him what was the cause of it.

Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 36. Sh. XVII-2. p. 76b., has also mentioned the eight causes of earthquake, but in the third cause it gives a beautiful scene when the Buddha was just born.

I P. Sh. XII-10. p. 13b. L.9—10.

In the first cause of earthquake, the element ‘Ākāsaṭṭho’ is not here.

In the second cause it states that when the Arhats with two fingers touch the ground desiring to make the earth move, then it trembles.

The second and third causes here should be combined as one, otherwise there would be nine causes of earthquake. In the fourth cause, it says that the Buddha was born from the right armpit. But the Pali words: ‘Mātu-kucchimokkamati’—‘quits the mother’s womb,’ are different.

II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 13b L.9—p. 14a. L.2.

The fourth cause here mentions the same thing as that of XIV. I P. i.e., the Buddha was born from the right armpit.

After explaining these eight causes of earthquake, to sum up, Tathāgata uttered a Gāthā of 12 verses.

Here ends the second chapter of this translation.

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 39a. L. 12—18.

Cause ii is the same as XIV. I P.

Cause iv. here agrees with the Pali text, i.e., the Buddha was born from the womb.

This translation uses many beautiful expressions for the embellishment of each cause.

IV F. Sh. XII-10. p. 22b. L. 4—10.

The subject in the second cause is Bhikkhu, Bhikkhunī, Upāsaka and Upāsikā.

Cause iv: The Blessed One was born from the right armpit.

Cause v: "When the Bodhisattva abandoned his palace, leaving his home behind to search after truth, and when he accomplished all wisdom and attained enlightenment, the earth trembled."

XV. THE EIGHT ASSEMBLIES, ABHIBHĀYATANAS AND DELIVERANCE.

D. xvi. 3. 21—33.

i. Assemblies: It describes how the Lord Buddha disguised himself by means of his supernatural power and joined the meetings of eight different kinds of people and divine beings.

ii. Abhibhāyatanas: This means positions of mastery over the delusion arising from the apparent permanence of external thing.¹

iii. Deliverance: This means to be delivered from the hindrance to thought arising from the sensations and ideas due to external forms.²

In Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 36. Sh. XVII-2, p. 76—77., after the explanation of the eight causes of earthquake, the Buddha reminded

1. See S.B.E., vol. xi. p. 49. note 1.

2. *Ibid.* p. 51. note 1.

his disciples that everything in this world is impermanent, therefore they should follow the Path of Dhamma, e.g.,

The four earnest meditations,
The fourfold great struggle against sin,
The four roads to Sainthood,
The five moral powers,
The five organs of spiritual sense,
The seven kinds of wisdom and
The noble eightfold Path

very diligently. Then he had his last look at Vesāli and proceeded to Bhaṇḍagāma. There he preached the four stages of spiritual cultivation. Thence he went to Bhoganagara, and explained the three causes of earthquake, though he had previously already spoken about the 8 causes of earthquake (see XIV. of this paper)! It is only after that explanation, he mentioned six different assemblies which he used to attend by means of his supernatural power.

No 'Abhibhāyatana' or 'Deliverance' is mentioned here.

I P. Sh. XII-10,

The order of the 'Assemblies' comes much later than that of the P. T. (it begins from Sh. XII-10. p. 14b. L. 13—p. 15a. L. 9.). It is not connected with the eight causes of earthquake. Here many names of heaven (up to the 28th heaven) are mentioned. It does closely correspond to the P.T., though it expresses the same idea.

No 'Abhibhāyatanas' and 'Deliverance' is found here.

II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 14a. L. 8.—13.

We find here eight assemblies only, but no exact 'Abhibhāyatanas' and 'Deliverance,' as it is in the Pali text.

III N. Sh. XIII-10.

No equivalent passage in this text.

IV F. Sh. XII-10. p. 22b. L. 11—16.

It is only in this text that we find equal numbers of these three "eights." It shows a close similarity to the Pali text though it is not so minutely expressed as the latter.¹

1. See D. xvi. 3. 21—33, and S.B.E., vol. xi. p. 48—52.

XVI. MĀRA, AND THE FAULT OF ĀNANDA.

D. xvi. 3.34—48.

The Buddha blamed Ānanda for not imploring him to remain in this world for one Kalpa before he had abandoned his life. Therefore, he related to him that on several occasions he had told him (Ānanda) the delightfulness and beauty of different places, that if one practised the four paths of Sainthood (Cattāro Iddhipādā), he would remain for one Kalpa or more. But Ānanda did not understand what he meant, so he did not offer him that request.

I P. Sh. XII-10. p. 13b. L. 13—p. 14a. L. 10.

The first half of this paragraph expresses the same idea as that of the Pali text. But no name of places is mentioned nor any reference has been given of previous conversation which took place between the Lord and the Māra under the Nyāgrodha tree at Bodh-Gayā.

The latter half relates the instructions given by the Tathāgata as to how his disciples should, after his death, observe the Rules, learn his teachings and control their minds and so forth. This is entirely different from the Pali text.

II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 14a. L. 13—p. 14b. L. 18.

The Lord Buddha gathered the Bikkhus telling them by what methods he had attained his enlightenment and what they should do, after his eternal departure from this world. By the way, he even mentioned some of the Suttas of Khuddaka-Nikāya, e.g., Dhammapada and Jātaka. After this, he uttered a Gāthā consisting of 16 short sentences.

The latter portion relates the conversation which he had with the Māra, on the banks of Nerañjarā river. And the fault of Ānanda is roughly corresponding to the Pali text, though no names of places are mentioned.

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 39a. L. 18—p. 39b. L. 2.

After giving the eight causes of earthquake, Ānanda asked him whether he had abandoned his life, the Tathāgata replied in the affirmative. Then Ānanda entreated him to stay on for the benefit of the world, but the Blessed One blamed him and said that it was his fault that he did not implore him earlier.

This translation is particularly shorter than any other texts in the present connection.

It does not agree with the Pali text, so far as the details are concerned.

VI F. Sh. XII-10. p. 22b. L. 16—p. 23a. L. 17.

The conversation between the Māra and the Buddha, and the request of Ānanda to the Lord, is more or less the same as that of the Pali text, but no name of places is mentioned.¹

Later on, the Tathāgata uttered a verse on impermanence of life.

XVII—COUNSELS TO THE BRETHREN AT THE MAHĀ-VANA.

D. xvi. 3.49—51.

The chief points which the Blessed One wished his disciples to cultivate are the following :

1. Cattāro satipaṭṭhāna.
2. Cattāro sammappadhānā.
3. Cattāro iddhipādā.
4. Pañca indriyāni.
5. Pañca balāni.
6. Satta bojjhaṅgā.
7. Atthaṅgiko ariyo maggo.

Here ends the third chapter of the Pali text.

I P. Sh. XII-10. p. 13b. L. 17—p. 14a. L. 10.

The name of Kūṭāgāra-sālā at Mahāvana is not found here.

No specific mention of the seven points stated above.

For the remaining, see XVI. I P. *infra*.

II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 14b. L. 18—p. 15a. L. 1.

Here, the text states that the Blessed One started for the Ambala village (cf. Pali: Kūṭāgāra at Mahāvana) *via* Vajji. When they reached there, they stopped in a forest. There he preached to his disciples the four stages of spiritual cultivation, e.g., Sīla, Samādhi, Paññā and Vimutti. It is quite different from the Pali text.²

1. See D. xvi. 3. 41—47.; S.B.E., vol. xi. pp. 55—58.; and ch. XV. of this paper.

2. See D. xvi. 3. 50, 50—51.

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 39b. L. 2—20.

There is no mention of *Kūṭāgāra* and *Mahāvana* here. The *Tathāgata* asked *Ānanda* to gather the *Bhikkhus* who were in the neighbourhood of *Vesālī* to come and listen to his instructions. We should remember that they went there partly for spending their rainy season and partly due to the difficulty of obtaining support at *Beluva*, because a big famine had raged there. When they came, he explained to them the impermanent nature of things and encouraged them to learn the *Dharma* diligently, and also to bring their minds under control. Then he proceeded to explain the eight chief points, that is, except the seven points which have already been mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. One more point of—‘four practices of *Dhyāna*’ is added.

There is no verse at the end.

We get more details in this text than in the Pali text.

IV F. Sh. XII-10. p. 23a. L. 17—p. 23b. L. 12.

The ‘two-storied-preaching-hall’ in the ‘Great forest’ for ‘*Kūṭāgāra-sālā* at *Mahāvana*.’

After the preaching of the seven points as stated above, he uttered a verse of 26 short sentences. It is obviously much longer than that of the Pali text. And after that verse his disciples felt profoundly sad for the reason that he would leave them soon. Though they implored him to stay on, yet no success was achieved. We do not find anything after the verse in the Pali text.

XVIII. THE BUDDHA AT *BHAṆḌAGĀMA*.

D. xvi. 4.1—6.

Here, the Blessed One had his last look at *Vesālī*. From there he proceeded to *Bhaṇḍagāma*, where he exhorted the *Bhikkhus* to grasp the four stages of spiritual cultivation, e.g., *Sīla*, *Samādhi*, *Paññā* and *Vimutti*, so that they might put a stop to the sufferings of eternal birth and death.

Also see Ch. XV. (ante).

I P. Sh. XII-10. p. 14a. L. 10—p. 14b. L. 12.

We find something quite unreasonable in this passage. Firstly the journey of the Buddha was not proceeding forward, but backward, and secondly the eight causes of earthquake were already explained by the Buddha (see ch. XIV. ante), but now he gives us four causes only. On the whole, this text is not quite agreeing with the Pali text.

Now, we see below how the Buddha goes from Vesāli :

Vesāli—Kotigāma (Kiu-lien village)—Khaṇḍa (Bhaṇḍagāma).¹ And from Bhaṇḍagāma he proceeded to the Golden village, Hand-giving village, Full-covered village, the Village of Happiness and Comfort, (Nāḍika), Malla village (Hua-she), and to the Fu-Yen City (Bhogana-gara). When he reached that city, he told Ānanda that there were four causes of earthquake.

We see what a round-about way the Lord Buddha was travelling.

II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 15a. L. 1—2

From Ambala village, the Blessed One proceeded to Khaṇḍa (Bhaṇḍagāma) village and to the city Bhūmi (including other two villages).

There is no mention of his last look at Vesāli and his preaching as we find in the Pali text.

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 39b. L. 20—p. 40b. L. 13.

The Tathāgata uttered a verse after he had his last look at Vesāli. And another Bhikkhu who was with him did the same.

Below are the places by which he passed as he travelled :

Vesāli—Kiu-li village—Khaṇḍa (Bhaṇḍagāma)—the Full-covered district, the Gold-producing district, the Hand-giving district, the Malla district (Hua-she), the Purity district and the Fu-yen city. In the Kiu-li village, Khaṇḍa and other places he preached the four stages of spiritual cultivation and its gain (Sila, Samādhi, Paññā and Vimutti). In the Fu-yen city, he told Ānanda the three causes of earthquake and later on he related the eight assemblies and the name of 28 heavens.

The order in the latter portion of this paragraph is quite different from that of the P.T.

For the 'eight assemblies' see Ch. XIV of this paper.

IV F. Sh. XII-10. p. 23b. L. 12.....and p. 25a. L. 13—18.

While leaving Vesāli for Khaṇḍa (Bhaṇḍagāma), the Lord Buddha looked and smiled at that city. The reason for this was that he, the Lord, would not be able to see it again. As soon as he made this clear to Ānanda, drops of rain fell from the cloudless sky. It was a sign to show that the Gods in the Heaven were greatly aggrieved to hear that bad news.

1. See M. Przyluski: *Le Dernier Voyage du Buddha.*
Journal Asiatique. Nov.—Dec. 1918.

Later on, the text goes on to give us an account about how the Licchavis implored him to remain in this world, the 7 conditions of social welfare of the Brethren, the courtesan Ambapālī invited the Buddha to her residence for meal and so forth.

When he reached Khaṇḍa village he encouraged his disciples by giving them the four stages of spiritual cultivation and its gain, which and the conditions of welfare is roughly corresponding to the Pali text.

XIX. THE FOUR GREAT REFERENCES

D.xvi,4.7—12.

The Lord Buddha feared that his doctrine after his demise might be distorted by others, so he instructed his disciples that whenever such question would arise, they should compare the speech said by the person who claimed that he had heard it from 1. the Buddha, 2. the Saṅgha, 3. the Theras or 4. a certain Thera, to the teachings of the Blessed One which have been recorded in the Sūtras and in the Vinaya. If it does agree, that is right, otherwise wrong.

In Nanjio No. 1121.fasc. 37. Sh. XVII-2.pp.77-78., there are eight references (4 white references concerning the Truth and 4 black references about falsehood on the teachings of the Buddha), though the way of relating them is different, the contents are the same as those of the Pali text.

• I P. Sh.XII-10.p.15a.L.9 -p.15b.L.7.

The four references are not clearly stated here. Comparing with the Pali text this text is more complicated and not well-arranged. The idea expressed here is that if any Bhikkhu in future wishes to become a Dharma-leader and if his speech is devoid of the traces of Vinaya, in that case, his words should not be trusted. It should be treated in the same manner as is done in the case of persons who want to omit or add something to the Sūtras or the Vinaya. Moreover, the Theras who are well versed in these Piṭakas should expound them to the Bhikkhus and novices who are ignorant, and in a state of doubt, they should give them the exact reference of persons, places, reasons and other details about the particular portion spoken of. However, if any Bhikkhu is not fond of learning the instructions and the doctrine of the Lord, he may be excommunicated from the Saṅgha.

II B. Sh. XII-9.p. 15a. L. 2—20.

This translation closely agrees with the Pali text. However the Pali sentences :

“‘Addhā idaṃ na c’eva tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ imassa ca bhikkhuno duggahītaṃ” ti’ and :

“‘Addhā idaṃ na c’eva tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ imassa ca bhikkhuno suggahītaṃ” ti’.

differ from the following lines of this translation :

‘You should speak to him thus : ‘Oh wise man, the Lord Buddha does not utter such words, you have been misled. Why I say so, because I have compared what you said on the Sūtras, Vinaya and the teachings of the Buddha. Your statement is quite different from them and just in the opposite direction. Therefore, you should abandon it and preach it to nobody.’ ’

And :

‘You should speak to him : ‘Oh wise man, your words are really uttered by the Blessed One. Why I speak so, because I have compared your utterance with the Sūtras, Vinaya and the Dharma of the Bhagavat, it agrees with them. Therefore, you should keep such teaching in your mind, explain it to others in a large scale.’ ’ respectively.

In each of the four references this is repeated.

III N. Sh.XII-10.p.40b.L.13—p.41a.L.10.

The first half of this paragraph loosely corresponds to the P.T., but the way of expressing is different. We just see the first reference, the remaining can be inferred. It runs thus :

“‘After I have attained Nirvāṇa, if there be any Bhikkhu who will say : ‘I saw the Blessed One and I received personally such teachings, instructions and the precepts of Vinaya from him’ and if however, his statement does not agree with the Sūtras and is harmful to the Dharma, you should quote utterances from the Dharmapada-Sūtra, the Vinaya and explain them to him. If he does not accept but take an attitude to pick up a quarrel, then, you should advise him and say : ‘Oh wise one, please listen, our Lord Buddha never spoke such thing, you have been misguided. What you have told us, it is quite opposite to the Dharma, the Vinaya and without any trace of the teachings of the Lord. Therefore, you should give up what you considered to be right.’ ”

The latter portion is a shortened repetition of the four references. It describes how the Bhikkhus should live harmoniously and follow the Rules of the Vinaya.

(To be continued.)

Fachow

MISCELLANY

The Photographic Copy of the Manuscript of the Abhidharmakośa in the Possession of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.

I visited the Library of the Bihar Research Society on the 12th of April 1945 to see the photos of the Manuscript of the Abhidharmakośa secured by Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana. This manuscript is very valuable as this perhaps is the only manuscript of the well-known work of Vasubandhu. The photographs as they now stand are unfortunately too small to work upon. The actual written portion covers only a space 4" × 10/16". Each page contains seven lines. One plate contains photos of 16 pages, eight placed on the left half and the other eight on the right half. Even with a magnifying glass, it is difficult to read. There is a great strain involved.

The photograph-plates are loosely bound in separate files and are placed not all together, but scattered over several books in different places. The total number of pages is approximately 304 folios, i.e. 608 pages or sides. These photographs need to be enlarged and it would be worth while various universities and learned bodies to combine in an attempt to take enlarged copies of these photos. This would reduce the cost of photographic reproduction in an enlarged form. If the photographic films are secured with the special permission of the Government of India, and if ten institutions combine in having ten copies, it would facilitate matters and lessen the cost for each customer.

As the manuscript is very valuable and rare, is it too much to expect the various universities and learned bodies to find the necessary funds for the same?

P. V. Bapat

REVIEWS

Suvarṇasaptati-śāstra—Sāṅkhyakārikā-saptati of Īśvarakṛṣṇa—(with a commentary reconstructed into Sanskrit from the Chinese translation of Paramārtha and edited with English notes, introduction and appendices) by N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Series, No. 7; Tirupati; price Rs. 6/-.

One of the most important discoveries made in the Chinese Buddhist Tripiṭaka is the Chinese translation of the Sāṅkhya-kārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Prof. Takakusu made this discovery and published a detailed study of the text and its French translation in 1904 in B. E. F. E. O. The Chinese translation was due to Paramārtha, a Buddhist scholar of Ujjayinī who had been to China in the third quarter of the sixth century (557-569 A.D.). The identity of the Kārikās was established by Prof. Takakusu beyond dispute but a commentary which was also translated by Paramārtha could not be satisfactorily identified. This commentary has now been retranslated into Sanskrit from Chinese by Prof. Aiyaswami Sastri. He has also discussed the problem of its identity in great details in a learned introduction.

The famous commentary of Gauḍapāda on the Sāṅkhya-kārikā has many things in common with the commentary translated into Chinese by Paramārtha but this does not mean that the Chinese commentary is a translation of Gauḍapāda's Bhāṣya. Takakusu gave a sober verdict by declaring that both Gauḍapāda and the author of Paramārtha's original drew upon a common source which is now lost. Prof. Belvalkar tried to establish that the Chinese text is a translation of the Māṭharavṛtti, another commentary of the Sāṅkhya-kārikā. But this view was not accepted by others on account of the great differences between it and the Chinese translation.

Prof. Aiyaswami Sastri has re-examined the question of relationship of the Māṭharavṛtti with the Chinese translation and made a detailed comparison between the two. He concludes his comparison by saying: "there are about 17 cases where the Chinese commentary differs from the Māṭharavṛtti doctrinally and 13 cases where the passages are differently interpreted in the Chinese commentary...in about 23 places the Chinese commentary and the Māṭharavṛtti have something of their own to add...the Chinese commentary has 20

quotations and the Māṭharavṛtti has 55 of which 11 citations are common while others are distinctive...one and same point has been explained with different examples in the two commentaries." But Prof. Sastri also points out a number of affinities between them which cannot be taken as accidental. In these cases there was borrowing and Prof. Sastri is of opinion that the author of the Māṭharavṛtti was the borrower as he lived, according to some scholars, much later than the time of Paramārtha, probably after the 11th century.

The Sanskrit original of the Chinese commentary was therefore extant in the 11th century to enable the author of the Māṭharavṛtti to borrow from it. Prof. Sastri has tried to confirm with additional evidences that it was known to Alberuni in the 11th century and that the latter has quoted from it.

In regard to the authorship of the original of the Chinese commentary Prof. Sastri has made a new suggestion. He is of opinion that the original was most probably the *Māṭharabhāṣya* which is now lost but is referred to in the Jain works, specially in the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* which cannot be dated later than 450 A.D. The original of the Chinese commentary may therefore go back to the fourth century.

The original of the Chinese commentary of the Sāṅkhyakārikā therefore still remains unidentified. Due to the present studies of Prof. Sastri we now know definitely that it is not the Māṭharavṛtti. The question of its identity with the Gaudapādabhāṣya was never seriously entertained. Its proposed identity with the Māṭharabhāṣya will remain problematical so long as the latter text or even a substantial quotation from it is not discovered to allow a verification. Kui-ki, the disciple of Hiuan-tsang and the famous Chinese commentator on Vijñānavāda philosophy mentions a tradition that the prose portion of the work i.e. the Chinese commentary was the work of Bodhisattva Vasubandhu. This tradition has not yet been seriously considered for the only reason that Vasubandhu was a Buddhist. Besides the question of an old and original Māṭharavṛtti of which the present Māṭharavṛtti would be a later amplified version may not be wholly excluded.

Whatever that may be, the commentary translated into Chinese by Paramārtha remains the oldest known commentary of the Sāṅkhyakārikā. Prof. Sastri has rendered an invaluable service by translating it into Sanskrit from Chinese. It is a work of tremendous industry and patience. We feel more at home to read our philosophical texts in

the original language and although Prof. Sastri's retranslation may not be mistaken for the original it is certainly a near approach. Finally it may be pointed out that a Chinese-Sanskrit index of the technical terms would have been of much help to the progress of Sino-Indian Studies.

P. C. B.

